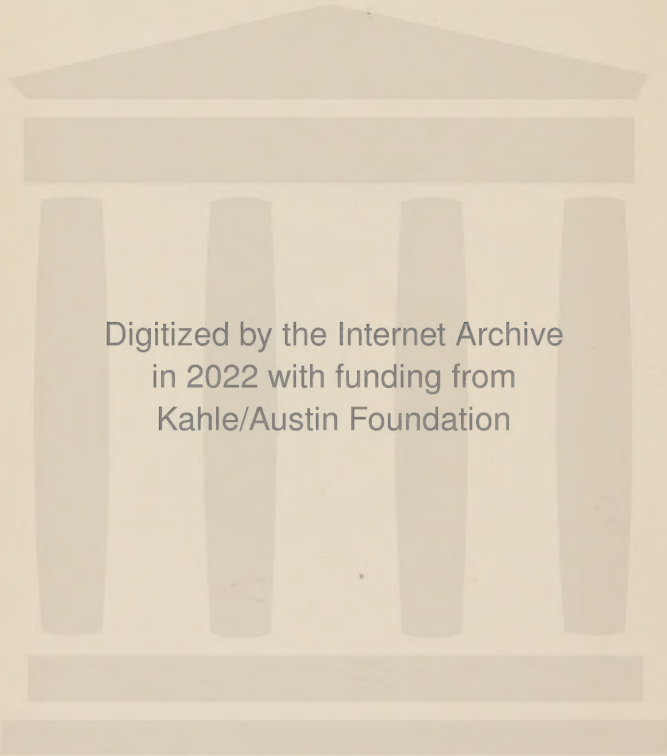


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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE
GERMAN PUBLIC MIND

By the same author

NATIONALITY IN HISTORY AND POLITICS

RACE AND CIVILISATION

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM OF THE DANUBIAN STATES

NATIONALGEIST UND POLITIK

Hertz, Friedrich Otto
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GERMAN PUBLIC MIND

*A Social History
of German Political Sentiments
Aspirations and Ideas*

BY


FREDERICK HERTZ

*The Middle Ages
The Reformation*

GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD

RUSKIN HOUSE

MUSEUM STREET LONDON



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PREFACE

THE term public mind is used here in the sense of the political and social feelings, opinions and aspirations of the various groups forming the German people, with special reference to those which have determined politics. In former times secular history dealt mainly with the political development of States, and since the principal criterion of States and politics is power, this led to the detailed presentation of struggles for power, which left not much space for public opinion, political ideals and ideologies. Attention was concentrated on the individuals engaged in these struggles, on rulers, statesmen and generals, though sometimes great thinkers, too, appeared in the background. In contrast to this approach other branches of historical research developed later; on the one hand the treatment of special fields such as law, arts, or economic life, and on the other hand schools embracing the general evolution of nations, with emphasis on civilization, cultural achievements and social relations. It was increasingly believed that the course of events was not exclusively, or principally, determined by the State and power politics, and that there was also a collective psychology moulding the mind of the makers of politics. While the older type of political history emphasized the part played by great leaders, the new schools laid great stress on forces such as collective mentalities, tradition and the unfolding of the human intellect, conscience and sentiment, but also on their geographical background. The moving forces were sought in dominant ideas, the spirit of the ages, the evolution of the mind in successive phases, the character of nations, the *Volksgeist*, the ethos of élites or the interest of classes. Many of the attempts, however, were influenced by philosophical or psychological presuppositions leading to un-empirical conclusions. Political historians in the present age give much more attention to public opinion than in former times, especially in monographs on particular epochs, problems and personalities.

This book regards the public mind not as a uniform and persistent force such as the alleged national character, or the public opinion much invoked by politicians. A nation shows a multitude of characters; there are forces striving to integrate them in a unity, and others working for disintegration. As a rule there is not a single public opinion, but a variety of divergent trends. The idea that the

policy of a government or the deeds of great men sufficiently expressed the spirit of their whole nation has often led to disastrous errors. The aim of this study is to show what the various sections of the Germans of every rank and class were thinking of the ruling men, how far they supported or opposed them, what were their wishes, hopes and fears, prejudices, ideals and standards of right and wrong. The influence of foreign thought, and parallels with the development of other nations, also require attention.

The study of the collective mind must largely be based on other sources than State documents which usually say little about the opinions of classes without a voice in politics. But a great deal about them can be found in religious and legal writings, works of literature, broadsheets, the verses of minstrels, folk-songs and later in newspapers. The analysis of the mentality of ruling personalities shows the interaction between their individuality and the public mind.

In order to find space for the presentation of these facts it is necessary to cut down the recording of external events to the minimum needed to understand the function and movements of the public mind. But certain limits are set to this elimination by various considerations, among them being the fact that political theory and practical policy, even of the same party or nation, are often not in accord. This may be due to many reasons. The student of the public mind must follow both lines of development, the ideal and the practical. External events such as diplomatic manoeuvres or warlike actions require consideration when they imply questions of public psychology, but not if they are of a merely technical significance in the struggle for power.

The description of the public mind necessarily requires much space since the characterization of its trends in general terms is not enough. It may even be misleading because these terms usually are very ambiguous. A particularly grave danger is involved in the application of modern concepts to conditions of former ages. This book further does not restrict itself to treating the affairs of the German Empire, as is usual in comprehensive surveys, but takes at least some account of the history of the principal territories. The reason is that important features of the German public mind can only be studied in territorial history. The multitude of German territories, however, renders it impossible to devote more than a few lines to the treatment of most of them. Many other issues, too, could only be dealt with in the barest outline because they were not of primary importance for our subject but could not be omitted

altogether without causing serious gaps in surveying the course of events.

This study is planned to be carried on until our epoch, and it is natural that both the significance of the public mind, and the historical documents concerning it, will increase the more we approach recent times. But the understanding of the remote ages treated in this volume forms the foundation for that of our own most urgent problems. It is expected that the publication of further substantial parts will soon be possible.

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PART I

THE MIDDLE AGES

GENERAL WORKS REFERRING TO SEVERAL, OR ALL, EPOCHS

Books referring to particular epochs are indicated after each chapter. The lists exclude books of no, or little, relevance to the public mind, primary sources, most older books, such of interest to specialists only, and, with a few exceptions, articles in historical journals. Passages from primary sources illustrating the public mind are, however, quoted in the text. To save space the titles have been abbreviated as much as possible. The dates of appearance refer to the latest editions known to me, and to the first volumes only, and are abridged (21 for 1921). The full titles may be looked up in bibliographies or in the catalogues of great libraries. The most complete general bibliography is Dahlmann-Waitz, *Quellenkunde*, 9 ed., 31, which indicates the publications having appeared by 1929. G. Franz, *Buecherkunde zur deutschen Geschichte*, 51, goes to the end of 1950. Ample bibliographies are also contained in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, and its continuation.

The most recent handbooks, indispensable for the student, are: B. Gebhardt, *Handbuch d. dt. Gesch.*, 8 ed., by Grundmann, v. I 54, v. II 55; and Dt. *Gesch. im Ueberblick*, ed. Rassow, 55.

Excellent introductory chapters on German history by prominent scholars are contained in several histories of the world, in particular the *Propyläen Weltgeschichte*, ed. W. Goetz, 10v., 31; its new edition, ed. W. Andreas, 40; *Weltgeschichte*, ed. L. M. Hartmann, 8v., *Peuples et Civilisations*, ed. Halphen and Sagnac, 20v.; *L'Evolution de l'Humanité*, ed. Berr, 76v.; and *The Rise of Modern Europe*, ed. W. Langer. All these works also give bibliographies. Barraclough's *Origins of Modern Germany* is a most valuable introduction.

Territories

The knowledge of the development of the territories is indispensable for the understanding of German history. The best handbooks are by the following authors. *Austria*: Uhlirz, 4v., 27; Huber, 6v., 85; Krones, 5v., 76; Mayer, 2v., 09; Hantsch, 2v., 37. *Prussia*: Ranke, 12 *Buecher preuss. Gesch.*, Hintze, *Hohenzollern*, 15, Prutz, 4v., 99; Droysen, 14v., 55. *Bavaria*: Riezler, 8v., 78 (repr. 27); Doeberl, 3v., 06. *Saxony*: Koetzschke u. Naumann, 2v., 35; Boettiger-Flathe, 3v., 67. *Wuerttemberg*: Schneider, 96; Dehlinger, 49. *Hessen*: Rommel, 1820-58, Muenscher, 94; *Brunswick*: Havemann, 3v., 1853; Heine-mann, 3v., 84; Hohnstein, 08; *Rhine-Palatinate*: Haeusser, 2v., 1845.

Constitutional and Legal History

Waitz Dt. *Verfassungsgeschichte*, 8v., H. Brunner, *Rechtsgesch.*, 2v., Gierke *Genossenschaftsrecht*, 4v., are fundamental. An indispensable handbook with large bibliography is R. Schroeder, *Lehrbuch d. dt. Rechtsgesch.*, ed. Kuensberg, 7 ed. 32. Other important handbooks are: A. Meister, *Verfassungsgesch.*, 22; Heusler *Verfassungsgesch.*, 05; Fehr *Rechtsgesch.*, 21; Schwerin *Rechtsgesch.*, 44; Planitz *Rechtsgesch.*, 50; Below *Dtsch. Staat d. Mittelalters*, 14; Keutgen, Dt. *Staat d. Mittelalters*, 18; H. Mitteis, *Der Staat d. hohen Mittel-*

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

alters, 44; Mitteis, Lehnrecht u. Staatsgewalt, 33; M. Bloch, La Société Féodale, 2v., 39; O. Brunner, Land u. Herrschaft, 39; Kern, Recht u. Verfassung in Hist. Zsch., 20.

History of the Church

Hauck, Kircheng. Dtschlnds., 5v.; Werminghoff, Verfassungsgesch. d. dt. Kirche im Mittelalter, 13; K. Mueller, Kircheng., 2v. (Prot.); Kirsch, Kircheng., 4v. (Cath.); Fliche et Martin, Hist. de l'Eglise, 24v., 34, etc. (Cath.); Troeltsch, Sociallehren d. christl. Kirchen, 12 (Engl. tr.); Schulte, Adel u. d. dt. Kirche, 10; Schnuerer, Kirche u. Kultur im Mittelalter, 3v., 29; Haller, Idee d. Papsttums, 2v., 36; Reuter, relig. Aufklärung im Mittelalter, 2v., 75; Ebeling, dt. Bischoefe bis z. Ende d. 16. Jahrh., 2v., 58; Cf. the encyclopaedias of religion by Gunkel and Zscharnak, 6v., Herzog u. Hauck, 24v., Wetzler u. Welte, 12v., Buchberger, 10v., Vacant et Mougnot, 18v., Schaff-Herzog, 13v., Hastings, 11v.; Cf. also Heimbucher D. Orden u. Kongregationen d. kathol. Kirche, 2v., 33.

Economic Conditions

Cambridge Economic History, vol. 1 and 2, 41; Koetzschke Dt. Wirtschaftsg., 22; Luetge, Dt. Social u. Wirtsch., 52; Bechtel, Wirtsch. Dtschl's., 52; Dopsch., Wirtschftl. und soziale Grundlagen d. europ. Kulturentwicklung, 23; Wirtschaftsentwicklung d. Karolingerzeit, 13; Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsg., d. Mittelalters, 28; Sombart, Mod. Kapitalismus, v. I.

History of Political Thought

Carlyle, History of Med. Polit. Theory, 6v., 03-36; Dempf, Sacrum Imperium, 29; Gierke, Staats- u. Korporationslehre, 81 (in Genossensch. Recht III); Bezold, Volkssouveränität im Mittelalter (in his essays, 18); Schultheiss, G. d. dt. Nationalgefühls, 93; Hugelmann, Staemme, Nation and Nationalstaat i. dt. Mittelalter, 55.

Military Organisation

Delbrueck, Gesch. d. Kriegskunst, v. II and III; Conrad, G. d. dt. Wehrverfassung, 39; Huber, Heer u. Staat i. d. dt. G., 38.

Literature

For the early works written in Latin the well-known books by Ebert, Manitius and Baumgartner are indispensable. For the literature in German cf. the handbooks by Scherer and Wackernagel; Ehrismann, G. d. dt. Literatur, 4v., 18, etc.; and Golther, dt. Dichtung im Mittelalter; further Nagl, Zeidler and Castle, Dt. Oesterr. Literaturg.

Civilization

Gustav Freytag, Bilder aus d. dt. Vergangenheit, is a classical work; Cf. further G. Steinhausen, G. d. dt. Kultur, 36; Grupp, Kulturg. d. Mittelalters, 6v., 21, etc.; Die dt. Staende, ed. Steinhausen, 12v.; Hashagen, Kulturg. d. Mittelalters, 50.

Biography

Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie, 56v., 1875, etc., new ed., 2v., 53; Roessler and Franz, Biograph. Woerterbuch zur dt. G., 53.

Historical Journals

A list is in Dahlman-Waitz, p. XXII.—The principal journals contributing to medieval studies are: Historische Zeitschrift, Histor. Vierteljahrsschrift, Mitteilungen d. Oesterr. Instituts f. Geschichtsforschung, Dt. Archiv f. Gesch. d. Mittelalters, Neues Archiv d. Gesellschaft f. aeltere dt. Geschforschung, Zeitschrift d. Savignystiftung f. Rechtsgesch. (germ. Abteilung), Archiv. f. oesterr. gesch., Vierteljahrsschrift f. Social u. Wirtschaftsgesch., Archiv. f. Kulturgesch., Dt. Vierteljahrsschrift f. Literaturwissenschaft u. Geistesgesch.

THE EARLY INFLUENCE OF NATURE ON THE PUBLIC MIND

IN early times the forces of nature exercised an overwhelming influence on the mind of man. With intellectual and social progress he gradually emancipated himself from the pressure of nature and created an artificial environment, to a great extent also changing the nature surrounding him. Yet, the far remote, original conditions of a country may often have given the impulse to developments which have determined the whole future history up to our time. The apparent persistency of certain features connected with this process fostered in modern times the rise of the illusion of a racial character as the moving force in history.

Soil, climate and configuration of a country, and its position in relation to others and the sea, are factors of primary importance. In all these respects primeval Germany was considerably less favoured than France and England. In the Ice Ages a much larger part was under ice in Germany than in these countries. Least affected was France, which, in consequence, became a refuge for men and animals. This is shown today by the extraordinary number of prehistoric finds and the wonderful cave pictures in which France surpasses all countries. In Germany the retreating ice left extensive deposits of rocks, gravel and coarse sand, and wide tracts of land were thereby rendered unsuitable for production except as rough pasture and forests. Most of Germany was in ancient times covered with almost impenetrable woods and marshes. In the northern plains great inundations were caused by the small fall of the rivers and their northward direction, which often left the mouth ice-bound while the upper reaches were thawing. But also in the other parts swamps were very extensive. There were, however, also regions with better conditions, since the Romans described

the Germani as a numerous race. But most of the tribes lived mainly on game and cattle of inferior stock and did not much till the soil. A Southerner like Tacitus had the impression that the greater part of the year was winter.

The western countries have the great advantage that they are nearer to the Gulf Stream and its continuation, the North Atlantic Drift, and, in consequence, enjoy a mild and humid climate without excessive heat and cold. This is beneficial to the vegetation and to domestic animals; it creates rich fishing grounds, keeps the ports and rivers free from ice and moderates the variations in the flow of the rivers. France has a great measure of sunshine and much good, alluvial and Loess soil. The woods, though extensive, seem to have been less large and less difficult to clear than in Germany. In England wolves became scarce, or extinct, rather early, while large parts of Germany were swarming with them until modern times. This was of great importance for sheep farming.

Germany's natural conditions have been immensely improved since the beginning of her history. Yet, in spite of all the technical progress, a statistical comparison between Germany's and France's agriculture shows that even now the former has a much greater proportion than the latter of crops and animals which can also subsist under unfavourable conditions. An American expert, Professor S. van Valkenburg, says: 'Germany is not naturally a fertile agricultural base—most croplands must be scientifically and heavily fertilized, if they are to produce satisfactorily.—The history of German agriculture has been a desperate struggle for increased crop production from poor soil.' If present Germany nevertheless produces much higher yields than France, this is not due to the favours of nature.

Most of the numerous migrations of Germanic tribes, which led to the break-up of the Roman Empire, were undertaken in search of good land on which to settle. Lack of fertile soil further retarded the development of wealth and civilization, and fostered a warlike ethos indulging in predatory expeditions. Already early Germanic tribes appear also as mercenary soldiers in the service of richer peoples and this tradition maintained itself in Germany until modern times. Many Germanic peoples were for a long time in a period of transition between a migratory and a sedentary way of life. The Celts, too, had once overrun large parts of Europe and Asia Minor. They were ahead of their Germanic neighbours in economic, social and cultural matters. While the latter still showed a society based on primitive conditions, freedom and equality, the Gauls had a powerful aristocracy and clergy, a refinement of life,

but also acute class differences. The Teutons had long very little iron, which made it impossible to fell the vast forests, they had no coins of their own, no towns and proper roads, no real government, and no script. Tacitus ascribed this backwardness largely to their sturdy sense of individual independence. But the natural environment was certainly a decisive factor, too. Gaul was not separated from the far advanced Mediterranean civilization by high mountains as Germany was. In the sixth century before Christ, Massilia, the present Marseilles, was founded by Greek seafarers and became a centre of international trade, the starting point of great explorers, and a gateway to civilization for the whole of western Europe.

A problem of paramount importance for the history of many modern nations is what promoted, or hindered, the rise of national unity in a given area and among tribes apt to be merged in a nation. Nowhere it was predetermined that a nation would arise just in the present form and extension. Several nations might easily have developed in the space now inhabited by Germans. Unlike English or French history, that of Germany was long marked by an extraordinary predominance of the opposite of national unity, known as particularism. It has moulded most of the peculiarities of the German public mind, and also fostered the development of many German cultural characteristics. Numerous factors have contributed to the evolution of unity in England and France, and of disunity in Germany, and among them were also forces of nature. Neither in England, nor in France, were there great internal barriers, hindering the rise of unity. In France the configuration was so favourable to intercommunication that the Greek geographer Strabo saw in it the hand of providence whose wisdom alone could have created it. Under former conditions, the accessibility and permeability of these countries facilitated their occupation by many conquerors. This promoted unity, either by the strong hand of the foreign rulers, or by arousing common resistance to it. The Romans dominated Gaul for about five and a half centuries, and England for more than three and a half. Gaul became the richest of all Roman provinces. Herod Agrippa II, King of the Jews, warning his people of rising against the Romans, asked them whether they perhaps imagined themselves to be richer than the Gauls, bolder than the Teutons and wiser than the Greeks. England had attained a certain civilization already before the Romans and under their rule made considerable progress. There were, according to Gildas, 28 towns and many forts. In spite of all the later destruction and decay certain factors making for unity must have survived, in particular

roads. In Gaul the Romans had built 30,000 kilometres of roads, and over the Alps 15,000, while in Britain remnants amounting to 3,200 kilometres are known.

In Germany but a small part was conquered by the Romans and held for not quite two hundred years. The bulk remained outside the Roman pale. The natural conditions made traffic very difficult, since every valley was swamped, as shown by the traces of the old footpaths going along the ridges. Germany was therefore far less accessible to foreigners than the western countries. England and France were much nearer to the maritime trade routes of the ancient world; many bays and estuaries offered opportunities for good ports and traffic on their rivers was, owing to the oceanic climate, less blocked by ice, floods or shallow water than on those of Germany. No part of England was far from the sea. Foreign traders, missionaries, pirates and invaders could easily land in the two western countries and reach the interior. Christianity was mainly brought to Germany from the British Isles, not by the shorter land-route from Italy.

Large parts of Germany were, far into the Middle Ages, not yet open to regular traffic. The kings exercised power chiefly in those parts which were accessible by river or by lanes suitable for a mounted host, or where they possessed domains. The internal barriers strengthened tribal and territorial separatism, which played a much greater role in Germany history than in that of England or France. The gradual development of the uncultivated parts was the work of the Church and great nobles, who thereby much increased their power. The great extension of the Empire and the difficulties of internal communication were an obstacle to the building of an effective central administration, which in the old times could be achieved in small territories only. Certain parts of Germany were lacking natural frontiers, such as the sea was to England. The vast lands in the East, inhabited by backward heathens, but also the control of Rome, and the overlordship over the rich lands of Italy attracted German kings, princes, nobles and colonists. The kings were induced to disperse their forces, and were drawn into long struggles with the Papacy which became fatal to Germany's national unity.

The prime instrument creating modern nations was war. England's unification was decisively furthered by the Danish aggressions and finally secured by the Norman conquest, which were all largely due to the accessibility of the island. Under the efficient military system brought by the Normans, the sea, hitherto a highway for aggressors, became a natural bulwark which guaranteed

England a much greater measure of internal peace and security than was enjoyed by any other country of Europe. The Norman conquest further provided England with strong rulers, whose authority was enhanced by the prestige of victory and who could establish a reign of law and a firm national unity. In France the development was more complicated, but at last royalty could repel England's aggressions and create a wide national unity. The wars between England and France, though of dynastic origin, had great significance for the development of national sentiment. In Germany the invasions of Hungarian horsemen for a time unified the tribes in defence, but after the invaders' defeat there was for a long time no great war apt to arouse national sentiment in wide circles. The Italian expeditions of the kings and other conflicts appealed to certain sections only, and many wars were waged between Germans. The Turks were regarded as the enemies of all Christian nations. When later internal disunity attracted foreign aggressors, as in the Thirty Years War, it was too late to form a common front and to create a strong national solidarity. The fact that Germany was in the Middle Ages less involved in wars arousing national sentiment than the western countries contributed to the frustration of unity. Natural conditions played a certain part in these events.

But also the development of institutions safeguarding national freedom were connected with the natural environment. The old idea of liberty was unrestricted freedom from any government for the individuals strong enough to defend their rights themselves. Loyalty and solidarity extended not to a State or a nation in the modern sense but to smaller units such as the family, the kindred and the tribe. Of this kind of liberty medieval Germany possessed far too much, but the idea of national freedom would have required a sense of solidarity within a wide group which did hardly exist. Liberty without sufficient unity is self-destructive. The first country where national unity developed was England. Many invasions of foreign peoples prepared the ground, and eventually the Norman conquerors, supported by the Church and other forces, succeeded in creating conditions for the development of a wider territorial, legal and social unity. This made possible the rise of Parliament, which became one of the strongest factors promoting the further growth of unity. In Germany similar assemblies arose in most of the territories, though the principle of election was less developed. Many of these diets reached the same, or even greater power, than the contemporaneous English Parliament. But the smallness of the territories, and the lack of solidarity between the various ranks, imbued them with a mentality different from the national senti-

ment of the English parliament. Yet, many German Estates vigorously defended their rights against the striving of their princes for greater power, and, in particular, they strongly opposed the establishment of a standing army, fearing that this would lead to absolutism.

In consequence, in the Thirty Years War the territories were defenceless and were so terribly ravaged that in many parts a third, or even a half, of the population perished. This discredited the diets, and in many cases the princes could deprive them of influence and establish their own absolutism, which was also more progressive than the half-feudal Estates. A similar case was that of Poland. Here parliamentary freedom was stretched to extremes and the armed forces were completely neglected in order to keep the king powerless. The result was the partition of the entire country among foreign powers. In England, however, in complete contrast, the parliamentary regime and the ban on a standing army had fortunate consequences. The main reason was that there was a natural moat around the land which no foreign army could cross. France, Germany and Poland did not possess such a moat. Of course, many other reasons, too, contributed to these differences between England and the Continent, but the influence of nature in promoting and protecting England's unity and liberty must not be overlooked.

The obstacles to Germany's economic and political development partly caused by natural conditions were, however, not entirely harmful. A poor and hard environment, if not extreme, may stimulate latent forces and may, in the long run, be a greater advantage than a soft climate and an abundance of gratuitous gifts of nature. In the British Isles, Scotland is a significant example. German farmers learned how to make barren soil fertile and were welcomed as colonists by foreign rulers who wanted to develop the resources of their countries. In many places further the people turned to other productions and made a living by mining, crafts, trade, navigation, etc., or by becoming mercenary soldiers. The vast forests and mountains, which rendered agriculture difficult, encouraged industries. In the old times wood, charcoal and water-power were most important for industrial production, especially for iron, metal and glass works. Flax grew on poor mountain soil and the clear water of the brooks and the long winters, when agriculture was at a standstill, encouraged linen weaving. Germany's mountains proved rich in silver, copper, iron, etc., and gold was washed on the Rhine and mined in the Alps. Many towns carried the salt-pan in their arms. German miners became the foremost experts in Europe, working mines in many countries. Germany's industrial products,

too, had a good name abroad and the skill of her craftsmen was renowned. In the later Middle Ages the Germans rivalled the Italians in international trade and banking, and in the North of Europe they held the first place in trade. This economic development was illustrated by the astounding rise in the number of German towns, of which many enjoyed a republican freedom. True, many were small and half rural, but even small towns, such as Ravensburg, did a great international trade. In the late Middle Ages, Nuremberg and Augsburg were centres of world trade and banking, and the former was particularly famous through her mechanical industries. Humanists pointed out that this wealth was due to the poor soil, which forced people to find other means of earning their bread than by tilling the earth. The imperial charter granting Nuremberg autonomy (1219) also referred to the lack of natural resources as a motive.

In agriculture, France and England were ahead of Germany and were also pioneers in the rational management of farms. England became rich through her production of wool, which was furthered by her natural conditions. But England's international trade was long in the hands of Italians and Germans. The Pound Sterling still preserves the memory of the Hanseatic traders, the *Easterlings*, as they were called.

Germany enjoyed a great natural advantage in international trade by reason of her position in the middle of Europe, at the cross-roads of the great trade routes from West to East and from North to South. The Baltic Sea and the River Danube were natural highways of trade with the East. The geographical position and internal conditions of Germany further induced great numbers to seek a living by going abroad as farmers, merchants, artisans, priests, scholars, artists and soldiers. In the Middle Ages already Germans could be found almost everywhere, while in other nations the habit of leaving the homeland for good was rare. Another momentous movement, largely determined by conditions of Germany's nature and position, was the great colonisation of the East, which got into its stride in the 13th century and is comparable to the colonisation of North America. Owing to the weakness of the central power, however, a large part of these colonies and outposts were never integrated into Germany and at last great territories on all sides crumbled off from the Empire and developed separate nationalities and languages in States of their own. This process was also furthered by nature. The Alps were the bulwark of Swiss independence. At the mouth of the Rhine the Netherlands became a centre of world navigation and trade and acquired an outlook

widely different from that of the half-feudal agrarian States of Germany. The Danube and other geographical factors orientated Austria more towards the non-German States of the East than towards Germany. Prussia, that was originally outside the Empire, lent her name to a realm whose greatest ruler thought of seceding from Germany altogether. The development of national States had the result that in Europe most people of about the same language were united in one State. Germany formed an important exception, and this played a great part in stimulating modern German nationalism. Its rise was to a great extent the reaction to quite opposite trends which had dominated German history for over a thousand years and which partly owed their origin to the influence of nature in far remote times.

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THE INFLUENCE OF GERMANIC TRADITIONS

THE influence of the Germanic past on the ethos of the German people has often been greatly exaggerated by modern writers. German romanticists and nationalists believed to discover true Germanism in noble features related by Tacitus, and anti-German propagandists quoted him as a witness to prove the permanency of German aggressiveness. Such illusions need no refutation here. But there were traditions which have, indeed, exercised a powerful influence on later German history, and which can be traced back to more or less early times. These require here a brief discussion, but a fuller description of the old Germanic society is not necessary for our subject.

Of all features of modern Germany, none has aroused such discussion as the development of a strong, monarchical State, first in certain German territories and then in the German Empire founded by Bismarck. Its defenders praised it, its critics attacked it, but both sides regarded it as characteristically German. However this may have been, a strong monarchy was certainly not an institution of Germanic origin. The very idea of a State possessing wide and exclusive powers of government was utterly opposed to the old Germanic mind, and the antagonism to its development maintained itself in Germany throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. The rise of strong monarchies in modern times was partly the reaction against the threat of anarchy inherent in the Germanic tradition of freedom, and many Germans protested against it as being un-German.

The early Germanic communities were, at the best, rudiments of States. They had no organised governments possessing the exclusive right of maintaining the law and the public interest by force,

nor the executive needed for this purpose. The law was far into the Middle Ages identified with the sum of the rights of the individuals, and these were entitled to resist any change in the law violating their interests. The idea of the priority of the public interest was very little developed. The folkmoot, the assembly of the freemen, was the highest authority, but was not sovereign in the sense of having supreme power over the individuals. The law was considered set by the Gods and unchangeable, except under circumstances of dire necessity for the time of the emergency. An old law therefore had a higher authority than a newer one. The strongest feature of the public mind was an unlimited sense of individual liberty. Caesar says of the greatest Germanic tribe that the ideas of duty and discipline were entirely alien to them, and that they did nothing contrary to their will.

In the old Germanic society breaches of the law were not liable to public prosecution, except in particularly grave cases detrimental to the community or odious to the Gods. The settlement of all other offences was left to the person injured and his near relatives, the kindred or sib. If a murder or other grave crime had been committed the kindred of the victim might wage a feud and take revenge on the whole kin of the guilty man, but they might also make an agreement with them concerning compensation, or they could cite them to appear before the court of the community. But if they did omit these steps, the crime remained unpunished. The judicial procedure resembled a fight between two hostile groups. The judge had only to maintain peace and order, and he asked wise men for a proposition concerning the way of ascertaining the truth and finding the judgment. This had to be confirmed by the free men standing in arms around the procedure. The parties then concluded a pact to accept the judgment beforehand. In a few cases witnesses could be heard, e.g. about the boundaries of land, but usually the defendant, or sometimes the plaintiff, had to declare his standpoint on oath, and a number of his kindred had to swear that they believed he was saying the truth. Very often, however, a judgment of God was sought by means of an ordeal, particularly by combat between the opponents. The execution of the judgment was as a rule left to the parties. If the convict could not pay the compensation fixed, he became the slave of the plaintiff, who might kill or mutilate him. If the slayer of a man was caught red-handed, and the hue and cry had been raised, he might be killed in a summary way.

The modern idea of the State as the fountain of all justice was, therefore, hardly existent. Every individual might defend his right,

if necessary by force. The community played a subsidiary part, setting certain limits to self-help. Every head of a family, moreover, could exercise justice over his wife, children, and serfs; he might punish and in certain cases kill or sell them, though sometimes the assent of the kindred was needed. Many of these customs maintained themselves throughout a large part of the Middle Ages.

The kings had in early times mainly a position of honour. Tacitus points out that they had no unlimited and arbitrary power, and that, if they spoke in the folkmoot, it was not their dignity which impressed the people, but their personal qualities such as their merits, fame, age, or oratorical gift. They gave more a weighty advice, he says, than that they had the power to command. If their proposition displeased the people, they rejected it with loud murmurs, while if they approved of it, they clanked their weapons. The Germanic kings later greatly increased their authority through contact with the Romans. The Roman armies eventually to a great extent consisted of Germanic soldiers, who learned in them military discipline, but also obtained a new idea of the State and kingship. Victorious kings and founders of realms acquired tremendous prestige and made efforts to build strong States, backed by the tradition of the Roman Empire and the administrative experience of Roman counsellors. They had the support of a new nobility which had risen in their service, and later of the Church. But the common freemen, too, were won for the new kingship. Wide tracts of land taken over from Roman landlords were available for their settlement. In this way a Germanic peasantry was formed.

Nevertheless, the idea that the king owed his dignity to the people, and did not possess unlimited power, but could only reign with the consent of the people, was never abandoned, though in later times the people were considered to be represented by the nobles. An institution like the folkmoot was not possible in a wide realm or empire, or only in appearance. But whenever a coronation was performed the officiating priest always asked the people, namely those present, whether they accepted the ruler, and the answer was given by acclamation. The duties of the king to the people were also confirmed in the solemn oath taken by the king and there were other ceremonies emphasizing them.

Yet the Germanic tradition contained also the idea that not everybody could become king, but only those of royal blood, who were of divine descent and whose personalities possessed magic power. The Church later replaced the divine descent by God's ordination, which had destined a certain family to rule, and the elected king was anointed with sacred oil. Both the French

and the English kings exercised their alleged faculty of healing certain diseases by the touch of their hand up to modern times. In England, Charles II was credited with 100,000 cases of healing, and even after the great revolution the French King Charles X in 1825 practised his magic power. But the belief of the peoples in the royal blood had also many times great political consequences. In numerous cases public opinion preferred among rivals for the crown that who was believed to be of better blood.

The original Germanic principle was that in communities where kingship was traditional, the king was elected and could also be deposed. But the belief in the claim of families of noble blood contained the germ of the principle of heredity, and in the time when Germanic kings founded realms on the soil of the tottering Roman Empire this idea gained great strength. For a long time the two principles of election and of heredity were competing, and as a rule the attempt was made to combine them. If there were several heirs of equal royal blood, such as brothers, the realm was partitioned. In England and France heredity without partition early won predominance, but in Germany the dignity of emperor became elective and that of the lay princes hereditary. The German territories were, in consequence, subjected to countless partitions between heirs, and this eventually rendered large parts of Germany a mass of petty lands with often absurd frontiers. This was one of the most fateful consequences of the Germanic tradition of the Royal Blood. On the other hand, the fact that the numerous German princes became practically sovereign rulers rendered them in the opinion of later times the most eligible candidates for foreign crowns, mostly by means of marrying heiresses. German princes and princesses in the course of time ascended the thrones of almost all European countries. This fact has been of the greatest importance in shaping international relations.

The structure of the old Germanic society has often been described either as democratic or as aristocratic, and both words are to a certain extent apposite. Certain families were believed to be of noble blood, but they had no legal privileges, except a higher wergild which was the composition to be paid to the kindred of a man killed. The life of the nobles, and most other freemen, showed aristocratic features. They did not live on their own economic activities, and rather despised manual work. They were themselves not farmers, but warriors, hunters, and lords of serfs tilling their lands. Some had a retinue of warlike followers with whom they made private wars and expeditions. The other freemen regarded the nobles as their natural leaders, and if a king had to be elected

he was taken from their ranks. On the whole, however, there were no great legal and social differences between the sections of the freemen. This was largely due to the primitive conditions of their life and the absence of great inequalities of wealth which, according to Caesar, was deliberately maintained in order to prevent internal strife and the decline of the warlike ethos. Caesar contrasts the Germanic conditions with those in Gaul, which showed a far more advanced stage of development. The Gallic nobles were warlike and possessed great wealth, they lent money to the poor and depressed them to an almost slavish state. The common man had no part in public affairs. The power was entirely in the hands of the nobles and the priesthood. This state of things led to violent party struggles which were the reason why Gaul was more easily subjected by the Romans than any other country. The democratic party, as Fustel de Coulanges called it, hired Germanic mercenaries while the ruling classes asked the Romans for support. The later feudal system seems to have originated largely from Gallic roots.

Another tradition gave rise to the system of proprietary churches. It sprang from the fact that every Germanic freeman could act as a priest and have a room with an idol. In Christian times the kings and nobles used to found churches on their lands, which they treated like private property and often regarded as a profitable enterprise, since they brought in fees for religious acts. The nobles often made one of their illiterate serfs priest in such a church. This system led to grave abuses, and religious reformers and, later, the Papacy, condemned it, particularly as it was also extended to monasteries and other important ecclesiastical institutions. The question of proprietary churches contributed much to the outbreak of the gigantic struggle between the German kings and the Popes, which has determined the fate of the German people more than anything else.

Towards the close of the fifth century, the Frank Chlodowech conquered Gaul, and he and his successors founded the Frankish Empire. The Franks were a particularly warlike people who had won distinction in the Roman service and had learned much from their masters. But their triumph was not won merely by arms. Chlodowech was also a shrewd politician; he embraced the Catholic faith and thereby obtained the support of the powerful Roman Church in Gaul against the other Germanic peoples, who were either Christians, but such of the hated Arian creed, or heathen. The mentality of the Frankish ruling classes demanded constant expansion. The warlike nobility had to be employed in external wars where they might gain wealth and power, if they were not

to indulge in internal wars against the king and other nobles. At the end of the seventh century a particularly able family rose to power, the Arnulfingians, later called Carolingians. In 751 they gained also the title of king. This dynasty produced a number of prominent rulers and, at last, Charles I, known in history as Charlemagne.

Constant war in far removed countries was bound to be ruinous to the peasants called up for military service, and the little trained and badly equipped forces from this class were also of inferior military value. In consequence they were increasingly replaced by professional warriors, armoured and trained to fight on horseback, who became the class of knights. Since the Roman system of taxes had fallen into decay the king could not pay them in money but only in land, either his own or that of the Church, or land still to be conquered. For this purpose a special contract was made. The knight swore a specific fidelity and did homage to the king, his lord, and thereby became his vassal, which was a Celtic word. His reward was a feudum or fief consisting of the usufruct of a piece of land, which he might let to be cultivated by tenants. There were, however, also non-military fiefs. The fiefs were at first terminated by the death of the lord or the vassal but later became hereditary. In the course of time rights of justice and other public functions, too, were given as fiefs, and the vassals could themselves become lords of knights by sub-infeudation. In this way the system known as feudalism grew up. It was not a purely Germanic institution, but developed from several roots, and it assumed in different countries various forms. Anglo-Saxon feudalism, for example, differed considerably from the Frankish one. The latter was a particularly warlike variety and exercised a most powerful influence in the history of many nations, particularly in France and Germany. As long as the kings were able to ensure the fulfilment of the obligations of their vassals, and to withdraw their fiefs when they failed to do their duty, feudalism might work quite well. In a wide, undeveloped land, where trained officials, sources of revenue and a money economy were missing, it was even the only possible system. Under such conditions the king had no other choice than the conferring of large tracts of land and great powers either on the Church or on nobles, in order to ensure security and justice and to develop the country.

The great risk inherent in this system was, however, that once the royal power had been weakened, feudalism might gradually reduce it to almost nothing, destroy the freedom of the common man, frustrate national unity, make impossible a reign of law and

open the door to anarchy. In Germany the later Middle Ages showed these tendencies. Feudalism grown too strong tended to make every nobleman king on his land. This was actually a return to the oldest Germanic time when every free landowner claimed such a position. Whenever the kings' control of their vassals had decreased, these had many means to increase their power. In times of trouble they usurped lands and rights, and many constantly had their eyes on the vast domains of the Church, wishing to appropriate them. The Church was, by her rules, forbidden to shed blood and, therefore, needed for certain public functions, such as capital justice, a layman as representative, called Vogt (advocate). This gave the nobles opportunities of becoming Vogt on ecclesiastical lands and gradually to make themselves hereditary owners. Many nobles further possessed large tracts of land which were not held as fiefs but were allodial (freehold). Not seldom public powers were connected with them since times immemorial. The fiefs, too, increasingly became bases of rights of government. Unfree people were always under a certain jurisdiction of their lords, though its scope varied with the strength of the kings and the Church. The kings often granted the Church and great nobles the exemption of their domains from the royal jurisdiction in minor cases of justice, and from fiscal burdens. This privilege, called Immunity, however tended to expand. At first, unfree or half-free people only were subject to the jurisdiction of a privileged lord which in the case of ecclesiastical domains was exercised by the Vogt. But later the privilege was frequently extended to include also the jurisdiction over freemen living on the estate. Further extensions added high justice, particularly such in capital cases.

The growth of the feudal power resulted in the depression of many freemen to the status of serfs. Sometimes the nobles achieved this by force or by fraud, but very often free peasants themselves wanted the protection of a powerful lord or the Church against the prevailing insecurity or against threatening fiscal or military burdens and placed themselves voluntarily under it. But in the Germanic view protection implied a diminution of freedom. Only the man who could defend his rights himself was regarded as really free. The final result of an unchecked growth of feudalism was that the central power became separated from the mass of the people by a barrier of vassals and dependent on their good will. Moreover, the rights of government, such as justice or taxation, had become connected with the soil, and they came to be regarded as a source of profits, a patrimony, which could be inherited, sold and purchased, pawned, divided, or given away, like any other

property. In the course of time this contributed not only to the continuous partition of territories into smaller and smaller units but often led also to the splitting up of the rights of governments and their distribution among different holders. A further consequence was the cleavage of society into many ranks endowed with different privileges, instead of the rule of one law of the land common to all.

Feudalism has in many countries shaped the ethos of the ruling classes. The relations between a lord and his vassals reposed on a contract, and if the lord did not fulfil his duties the vassals claimed the right to resist him. Where a certain sense of unity and solidarity had developed this resistance tended to become collective, and made use of parliamentary institutions. The feudal spirit bred a specific sense of honour and contempt of other occupations than war, and of other duties to the king than defending the country by the sword. But feudalism was no good instrument for great and long wars. These became only possible when the rulers had found ways of raising sufficient money for enlisting mercenaries, mainly by taxing the non-feudal classes, and by convoking assemblies of the Estates to vote financial aids.

The old Germanic peoples were proud of their fidelity, but history exhibits a picture greatly at variance with this claim. My book on *Race and Civilization* gives ample proofs. The Germanic concept had not the width of the Christian idea of faithfulness. Ellinger has in an interesting study shown that before the thirteenth century the chroniclers often reported the most flagrant cases of perfidy, treason and other crimes without any criticism, or even with complacency. This was mainly due to the fact that the writers, though Christians, were under the influence of the old Germanic notions of right and wrong. Germanic morality appeared to Tacitus much better than that of the Romans. But they were shaped by religious and social conditions incompatible with Christianity and an advanced phase of civilization. Legal concepts were very formalistic, and moral ideas influenced by beliefs in magic power. Wace's well-known story of Harold's oath to William of Normandy illustrates the belief that an oath taken while laying the hand on the bones of powerful saints was more binding than another. The saints were expected to punish the man breaking the oath, and several renowned saints were obviously stronger than one of lesser importance. Success in stealing such bones seemed to justify almost every perfidy employed in the act.

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THE INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

THE greatest revolution in Teutonic life was effected by Christianity. In most cases the king was one of the first to adopt the new faith, often under the influence of his Christian wife. Christianity gave wives a much higher position, it rejected polygamy and the sale of women, demanded that husbands, too, should be faithful and condemned the murder of infants by exposure. The king then often induced his people to be baptised. Besides religious motives political ones, too, played a role in their conversion. Farsighted kings realised that Christianity was also an instrument of political progress and that only the Church could provide them with the ideas and the experience needed to overcome both the primitive ethos of the old Germanic state and the anarchic power of the nobles. The alliance of the Frankish kings with the Roman Church increased the power of both. The Church did her best to make the unruly Franks submissive to their king. At the coronation he received a new sacral character. The Bible and Roman tradition were employed to emphasize the duty of obedience so alien to the Teutons. His wars of conquest were represented as holy wars to extirpate the Arian heresy and heathenism. The Merovingian kings committed ghastly atrocities, even against members of their own family. Yet, the Gallic Church has declared many of them saints, and Bishop Gregory of Tours in his chronicles praises Chlodovech as a righteous man who pleased God and, therefore, was victorious, and he narrates his horrifying deeds without a word of criticism. But the kings in many ways enhanced also the power and wealth of the Church, which they, however, firmly kept in their hands, nominating the bishops at their pleasure and using the resources of the Church like their own. The Pope had no real authority over

the Frankish Church. Many proprietary churches were founded and exploited or sold like any other property.

The raging of violence inspired many with the view that the world was hopelessly in the devil's clutches and that a Christian should best withdraw into solitude or a monastery, preparing himself for heaven by an ascetic life, by the practice of brotherly love, peaceableness, humility and the mortification of the flesh. In the sixth century the Irish missionary Columban the Younger came to Gaul and founded several monasteries in the wilderness, in particular the monastery Luxeuil. He also reprobated the violent habits of the clergy and the immorality of King Theuderich and introduced confession and penance. His personality made a deep impression and many Frankish nobles became monks, among them Arnulf, the ancestor of Charlemagne. But Columban laid down no rules for the administrative organisation of his communities. The school of monasticism founded by Benedict of Nursia at Monte Cassino possessed a great advantage in detailed instructions regulating the constitution and work of the monastery. Benedict's disciples introduced his reforms in many countries and they gradually replaced Columban's asceticism, which was much more rigorous but less practical. An important peculiarity of Benedictinism was the stress laid on manual work. Benedict did not wish the monks to live on alms. Every monastery formed a self-sufficient community, in which besides the monks hundreds, and sometimes thousands, of laymen were engaged in agriculture and handicrafts. The Benedictines thereby became pioneers of economic progress. Later they also made a great contribution to learning.

The parts of Germany conquered by the Franks long remained heathen, and when at last Christianity spread, largely owing to the zeal of Irish-Scot missionaries, it lacked firm foundations and a stable organisation. When the missionaries had gone, the isolated communities of converts often relapsed into heathendom or tried to combine it with the new faith. The definite conversion of a great part of the people and the foundation of a German Church in connexion with Rome was the work of Anglo-Saxon preachers, in particular that of Wynfrith, called Boniface. He became the first Archbishop of Mayence and died in 754 as a martyr, slain by savage Friesians. The Anglo-Saxon Church was then ahead of all other Churches in practical Christianity and learning. Together with Boniface, and before and after him, many other Anglo-Saxons worked as missionaries in Germany, among them men and women of extraordinary merits. Hauck thinks that there must have been hundreds of them and that the conversion of the Germans was

regarded as a national cause in England furthered by the feeling of their being relatives.

The close connexion between the German Church and the Papacy, which Boniface had initiated, was paralleled by fateful political relations between the Frankish kings and Rome. Several Popes urgently asked them for help against their Italian enemies, in particular the Lombards. King Pippin twice waged war on behalf of Pope Stephen II and forced his enemies to return territories to him. The Pope bestowed upon Pippin the title *Patricius Romanorum*, which implied the protectorate over the Church and Rome. At that time probably the Papal chancery fabricated a document relating the alleged Donation of Constantine, one of the most momentous forgeries in history. It is a most fantastic story, the gist of which is that the Emperor Constantine had not only confirmed the primacy of the Papacy over all Churches of the world, but had also donated to it all the provinces of the Roman Empire in Italy and the West, together with other lands and values, and had performed a ceremony implying that he was the Pope's vassal. It is possible that Stephen II already used this forgery to persuade Pippin. Some scholars, however, place it in a later time. Anyhow, the fable laid one of the foundations for the later claims of the Papacy. These events formed the prelude to the Italian expeditions of the German kings, their claim to the Imperial crown and their struggles with the Popes.

The progress of Christianity conveyed to the Germanic peoples also many new political ideas, though not immediately. Jesus Himself had brought a purely religious and moral message and not a political or social programme. His disciples understood that God's kingdom was not of this world, they trusted that Christ would soon come again and establish His kingdom. The Christian had to obey the secular power which God had allowed, even if it was evil, though not in violation of God's commands. But the early Christians stood for keeping aloof from every active participation in public life, from serving as officials and soldiers, from going to law, and so on. They did not set out to change the social order. The Church itself, for example, possessed slaves, but within the Christian community they were treated as equals of all the others. Christianity was a matter of spirit, not of external institutions. It preached love, not revolution; yet in the course of time Christian love was to bring about a moral and social revolution.

The Old Testament and the warlike spirit of the Israelites appealed to the Teutonic mind even more than the message of love. Moreover, it contained much more about political institutions

and matters of law than the Gospels and, therefore, was often regarded as a guide by statesmen and reformers. The priest kings, such as Melchizedek, have often been quoted to justify the royal authority over the Church. The Old Testament shows a strong sense of social justice and gives detailed instructions concerning the duties towards the poor, the workers, the foreigners, and so on. But also the position of the priesthood is extensively treated in it. Its outlook is often very legalistic, while the Gospels lay the stress not on forms but on the spirit. The influence of the Scriptures on the development of the German mind was immense.

Learned clerics further studied the legacy of Greek and Roman literature as far as it was available in the West. The number of important books which were widely known, however, was not great, and the knowledge of Greek was rare and poor. Great churchmen discouraged the interest in the pagan literature, and even most of its students appreciated it merely as models of style. Much of it was, indeed, incompatible with the Christian spirit. The Roman State and society were built on slavery, war and ruthless exploitation. Yet there were also trends of thought which showed parallels to Christianity, in particular the Stoic philosophy. It believed in a world reason, in the equality of human beings and in cosmopolitanism. Justice was not an invention for the sake of utility but was the dictate of reason. There was a Law of Reason, or a Law of Nature. Great Roman statesmen adopted Stoicism: Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus and Emperor Marcus Aurelius professed it in their writings. The Law of Nature found entrance into Roman law and the teachings of the Fathers. Canon law took it up, and in the twelfth century Gratianus was to put it at the head of his great collection of Church law laying down that it had precedence of every other law.

Seneca detested slavery and described the primitive Golden Age, when men had lived happily without government, property, war and slavery. It was human avarice and lust of power which had destroyed this state of innocence. What the Stoics called the Golden Age resembled the Biblical tale of life in Paradise which came to an end by Adam's fall. This act had, according to the Fathers, corrupted human nature and had imbued it with blind passions. The State became, therefore, necessary to curb and punish evil-doers and to enforce a reign of law. War, too, became unavoidable, domination, slavery and private property followed, and differences in rank developed. Before Adam's fall the Law of Nature alone was in force, but after it that of the State largely took its place. In this

view the State was in many respects regarded as an evil but as a necessary one, needed to prevent still greater ones.

The problem of social inequalities has always troubled the Christian conscience. To many it seemed that Christ's words and deeds were denied their validity. The Church saw the solution in charity in a wide sense. The early Christians practised the community of goods, many Fathers sharply denounced private property and greed for profit. Monastic orders, and preachers, scholastics and mystics dealt with the issues involved, and biblical arguments were quoted for and against the inequalities of rank and wealth.

Thought on the relations between Christianity and the State reached its greatest vigour and splendour in Augustine's work on the City of God. It was written and published in successive parts in the years following the capture and sack of Rome by the Gothic King Alarich (410). Augustine undertook in his work to refute the pagan argument that the abandonment of the old religion and the adoption of Christianity were responsible for the catastrophe. The real causes were Rome's lust of war and domination, her moral corruption and lack of justice, which were the fruit of her false idols. Superbia, the opposite of humility, was the fundamental sin. Though Augustine was not insensible to Rome's greatness and recognised some of her achievements, he saw the cause of her later decline in her ambition and overweening pride. This mentality first led the Romans to the love of liberty and later to that of domination and glory, to incessant wars and to inordinate expansion. The destruction of Carthage, which appeared to be Rome's greatest triumph, actually was the beginning of its ruin, and further conquests had aggravated the evil. Great Romans had predicted or realised this. The conquests were accompanied by increasing demoralisation. Even in the olden days, however, Rome was never a true republic, a State of the people, because of her ingrained injustice. The civil wars cost more lives than all the wars with other peoples. It is not the form of a State, but its spirit, that is essential.

The central idea of the book is the contrast between two societies or types of mind, the celestial and the terrestrial. The celestial community, called the City of God, is guided by the love of God, humility and peaceableness, while the members of the terrestrial are dominated by self-love, pride, lust of glory and the baser instincts. The former mentality results in justice, tranquillity, harmony and freedom; the latter creates discord, war, misery and servitude. Augustine admits, however, that a war is just if undertaken in the service of God and waged without cruelty.

It has often been assumed that Augustine understood by the two

communities the Church and the State. This is not so. He said that on earth the two types are mixed up with one another everywhere. But he actually described most States as predominantly possessed by the evil spirit of the terrestrial society, especially by the lust of glory and power, and sometimes seemed to identify the Church with its opposite. The first political community on earth was founded by Cain, and the greatest, that of Rome, by Romulus, who both were murderers of their brothers. But Abel belonged to the celestial community, whose members are here strangers until the advent of the Kingdom of Christ. The highest aims on earth are peace and justice. Without justice a State is only a band of robbers, and the great conquerors are merely brigands on a large scale.

Augustine's theology is based on the thesis of man's inability to find salvation without God's Grace. He rejects the teaching of Pelagius that man's own forces enabled him to lead a virtuous life and strongly emphasised that God had predestined those who would be saved and those who would go to hell. But he mitigates this terrible doctrine by certain admissions. A natural morality can be achieved even by the will of man in his state after the fall. But a truly Christian morality is impossible without God's Grace which is only granted to the elect. The heathens, too, show a natural morality, but their virtues are often only shining vices, especially the pride of the Stoics in their own excellency. Augustine further strongly stressed eternal punishment in hell. He also shows, on the other hand, that evil in many ways serves the purposes of providence, though God only admits it. The misfortune of good men is meant to be a trial of their strength and that of others as a punishment. The Last Judgment will put the balance right. Lastly, too, the visions of the Millenium and the anti-Christ play a role in Augustine's thought.

Augustine's mighty personality dominated the spiritual life of the Middle Ages. His thought, however, combined many divergent trends which can only partly be explained as successive phases in his development. The ethos of the Greeks and Romans had been confidence in human nature, belief in reason and a morality aiming at happiness in this world and maintained by man's own forces. Augustine rejected this intellectualism, optimism and easy moralism and conceived man as a miserable creature groaning under sin and yet unable to extricate himself from it by his own exertions. Faith, humility and love of God alone can save him, if God has been gracious to him. This view discouraged rationalism and fostered mysticism and asceticism and the development to paramountcy of the authority of the Church, based on the sacraments, and also

that of the doctrines of the original sin and God's inscrutable predestination. Scientific research and philosophical speculation Augustine regarded as useless and even dangerous if not connected with the love of God. On the other hand, he cultivated the allegorical interpretation of the Bible, which helped him to overcome the Manichean aversion to the Old Testament.

Augustine's influence on the public mind was particularly great in the earlier Middle Ages and in the time of the Reformation. Bernheim and his school have shown in many books how mediaeval writers in judging the ruling powers constantly applied the standards of Augustine.

The attitude of the Church to political and social questions was at all times orientated by two different, though not inconsistent, currents of thought: the purely spiritual outlook of Christ, centred in love, and the more worldly one of Greek philosophers, Roman jurists and Fathers of the Church, centred in human nature or reason. The spiritual outlook further led also to ideas which were alien to Christ's thought, namely asceticism and speculation about the advent of the Last Judgment. In the view of the time the mortification of the flesh was to liberate the spirit from its fetters and seductions. The contempt of this world stimulated the hope that the day of judgment was near and the eagerness to predict its coming from portents.

In the Frankish Empire, however, the mind of the Church was for a long time not much occupied with the philosophical legacy of the past. Gaul had once been the most highly civilised part of the Roman world, but under the Frankish conquerors learning sank to a low level. Italy and Spain under the domination of the Goths, the Celtic Church in Ireland and the Anglo-Saxon Church in England far surpassed the Franks and Gauls in scholarship and thought, till Charlemagne and Alcuin reformed the Frankish Church.

Among the upper classes of all countries women were for a great part of the Middle Ages on the whole more cultured than men, unless these were clerics. The lay men despised education as derogatory to a warrior, while their daughters were sent to school in convents, where they learnt Latin and read the Gospels, the Fathers and the classical poets. Many queens and other great ladies then could move the hearts of their husbands and induce them in certain questions of politics to act as Christians, and later they would often have their sons educated by clerics and inspired them with the love of peace and learning. The beginnings of this feminine role can be traced back to the early Frankish times. One of the first was Radegunde, a Thuringian princess, who was made a cap-

tive by the Frankish conquerors but later, against her will, became their queen. She was as pious as learned and fond of poetry. Another was Bathildis, an Anglo-Saxon who had been sold to a great Frankish noble as a slave but later married King Chlodovech II and after his death became regent. She did much to purify the Church, to promote piety and learning and to help slaves. There was a great export of slaves from England to the Continent and the Queen bought many and set them free. She also prohibited the export of slaves from her country.

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CHARLEMAGNE'S POLITICAL SYSTEM

THE Frankish Empire reached the summit of power under Charles I, who in 768 succeeded his father, Pippin III, and reigned for more than 45 years. Few rulers have equalled him in shaping history. For the last thousand years the course of international politics on the European continent was to a great extent a struggle about the heritage of Charlemagne; many rulers of far-flung ambitions have seen in him their model, he has been made a saint and legend has elevated him to super-human rank. His strategy and diplomacy created an empire stretching from the Atlantic and the North Sea to the Elbe, the Bohemian Forest and the plains of Hungary, and from Barcelona, the region south of Rome and the Adriatic to the frontiers of Denmark and to the West Baltic. His most important successes were the incorporation of the Saxons and Bavarians in the Empire and the liberation from the Avars of large territories which later became Austria. The Saxons were 'converted' to Christianity with barbaric cruelty. These conquests laid the foundations of the German people. The still more dazzling establishment of his power over Rome and the greater part of Italy initiated that policy which has determined the future fate of Germany more than anything else.

On Christmas Day of the year 800 the Pope Leo III crowned Charles with a golden crown, the Romans present acclaimed him as 'the great and pacific Emperor of the Romans,' a ceremony which was regarded as an election by the people, and the Pope kneeled before him. Charles had not previously been asked and was very angry. He probably disliked the connection of his emperorship with Rome and the Pope. After a time of hesitation, however, he made use of the title 'Emperor governing the Roman

Empire' (viz., the western part), but not of the title 'Roman Emperor,' which might have provoked the Byzantine Emperor, who regarded himself as the only legitimate Roman emperor. The word emperor became a title designating a higher rank than that of a king, and according to ecclesiastical opinion as expressed by Alcuin, implied the obligation to protect the Church and to secure world peace and harmony. It seems also that Charles considered the title at first a dignity restricted to his person.

Charles ruled his Empire with practically absolute power, though he deliberated important questions with the great nobles and the bishops, and put laws and other matters before the annual general assembly of the people in arms. Laws required the people's consent, but it was merely nominal. In fact, the people could not deny their consent, though they could express grievances and wishes, and the assembly was valuable as a barometer of public opinion. The King further called and presided over councils attended by the bishops which discussed not merely religious, but also moral, political and economic questions. Yet, the decisive power was always with the King, who also possessed organs of a central government. The Empire was divided into counties, of which each comprised several districts called Hundreds, where justice was administered. In the east, the later Germany, this organisation, however, was not everywhere realised, since a large part was still waste. Many counties had no fixed frontiers. In each the King was represented by a count, who was appointed and dismissed by him at his will and, therefore, had the character of an official. But the counts were very dissimilar to modern bureaucrats. Most of them were noble landowners and vassals of the King. In capital and other major cases they presided over the Hundred courts and had military, police and fiscal duties. The counts were supervised by royal envoys of high rank charged with investigating how they had performed their duties and whether the people had grievances. Besides, the envoys could also override the count's authority and decide legal cases in the name of the King. This organisation put the King into direct contact with the people. In principal it was a system of centralisation, the power of tribalism was broken; yet certain concessions were made to particularism or to military purposes by according to a number of regions some autonomy under one of Charles' sons as sub-King or under a margrave or governor.

Charles further enacted an extensive legislation which, however, could not everywhere be put into operation. In a large part of Germany, in particular, conditions were still too primitive and the administrative apparatus too undeveloped to make this possible

Anyhow, the King revealed himself in his laws as a great organiser who gave attention to every detail apt to secure the reign of law, military efficiency, economic prosperity and the fulfilment of moral and religious duties. Despite his paramount authority, however, Charles took care not to provoke public opinion by openly abrogating traditions rooted in the folk-law and the ethos of the powerful classes. He rather let them nominally continue but tried to make them ineffective and to replace them by something better. The feud, for example, was not prohibited, but the King repeatedly warned the nobles that everybody refusing to settle a conflict by peaceful means would be sent to a place where he could do no harm. He also prohibited private troops, the wearing of arms in the homeland and blood revenge, which was incompatible with Christianity. Yet, feuds could not be entirely suppressed and the other rules were also often disregarded. Slavery, too, was not forbidden, but the King tried to reduce it to a minimum. Traders might buy foreign slaves or sell them only under public control, before a count or a bishop. Many prescriptions were designed to protect the interests of the common man, to shield him against violence and oppression by lords and officials, to support him in case of bad harvests and to provide for the poor and helpless. Yet there was much social misery and the power of the nobles was often stronger than the good intentions of the King.

In jurisdiction the Germanic popular traditions were maintained. Everybody was still judged according to the law of his tribe, and the guilt was established by oath-helpers and ordeals. The trials were attended by all freemen, but frequent assemblies were an onerous burden and the common freemen were released from the obligation to attend more than three a year and replaced in the others by jurymen (*scabini*—*Schoeffen*), chosen from the notables with the consent of the people. Charles had the tribal customaries collected and codified and made some amendments, which were submitted to the folkmoets for acceptance. Besides the old formal and rigid folk-law, however, new principles began to be applied. The King and the Church had a jurisdiction higher than the popular courts and many important cases were reserved to them. The folk-law left it largely to the parties to assert their rights, and if there was no plaintiff there was no trial. But the royal and episcopal courts regarded certain delicts also as offences against the public or divine order liable to public prosecution, they mitigated the formalism of the folk-law by considerations of equity, and the institution of jurors who had to denounce notorious evil-doers and witness against them, made its appearance.

Charles was the uncontested lord of the Frankish Church and also controlled the Papacy, which submitted to his authority. His piety was genuine and active, though certain acts of his policy and his sex life did not fit into the image of a future saint. He was versed in the Bible and the Fathers and particularly impressed by Augustine's *City of God*. Chapters from these books were constantly read to him at his table and at other occasions. Augustine inspired him with the idea of a theocracy and of his mission to act as God's representative and as a priest-king on the model of the Old Testament. In this capacity he even interfered in great theological controversies and repeatedly decided them contrary to the Pope, who had to yield. The theocratic idea implied his duty to defend and expand the reign of Christianity and to support the Church and the Pope in every way. But it also gave him the position of a ruler by the grace of God, consecrated by the anointment at his coronation and entitled to absolute power. State and Church formed only different sides of the same divine institution.

Under Charles the organisation of the Church begun by Boniface was completed. France had now twelve archbishops, Germany four and Italy five. The number of bishoprics was seventy-five in France and twenty-two in Germany. A great number of parishes were founded and tithes were introduced for the maintenance of the churches, priests and poor. The King endeavoured to purge religious life from remnants of heathendom, especially magical superstitions, and to procure correct texts of the Bible and works of the Fathers. A uniform liturgy was introduced, many churches were built and decorated with works of art, and sacral music was cultivated. The Church received great donations and large privileges. The bishops had a wide competence to judge laymen in cases of delicts against religion or morality. But Charles tried also to prevent the Church from inordinately increasing her possessions by putting pressure on the peasants or by promising heaven to dying persons. In this he had but little success. The wealth of the Church constantly grew and a large proportion of the peasants became serfs of the Church. Charles himself, towards the end of his life, left the bulk of all his treasures to the Church, while his family received very little.

The King wanted also to employ the clergy as the religious and moral educators of the entire people. But Charles emphasised that also a study of the liberal arts was wanted to understand the deeper sense of the Bible. In the first place the clergy themselves needed more instruction than hitherto. A great proportion of the lower clergy consisted of people of unfree birth. The free and noble Franks were thereby confirmed in their prejudice against learning

anything except the arts of war. But Charles' own example as a friend of letters refuted this prejudice; he demanded that at every episcopal church and monastery a school should exist, not only for children of serfs but also for free ones and that everybody should send his son to school for a really good instruction. The Bishop Theodulf ordered all his priests to give gratis instruction to every child in their parishes. It was a momentous event that the ideal of educating the whole people was thus enounced, though its practical realisation was only possible in much later times.

Charles' regime had two pillars. The one was formed by the nobles from Austrasia, the homeland of his house and the most Frankish part of his Empire, which largely corresponded to the present Rhinelands, Luxemburg and Lorraine. The other was the Church, which was even more important than the former as it provided the leading statesmen of the central government and most of the officials who were not illiterate. The King, therefore, regarded the bishops primarily as his organs and nominated them at his will, though the canonical form of an election by the local clergy and people was often observed. He also wanted to make the clergy as fit as possible for their ecclesiastical and political functions and gave detailed instructions enjoining upon them a truly Christian life and devotion to their duties. But there is no doubt that many clerics were far from obeying these orders. The higher clergy came mostly from the nobility and many were not willing to renounce the life of a great lord. Many clerics in important positions, moreover, had not received ordination as priests and did not feel obliged to excel in virtues. The lower clergy were often uneducated serfs of nobles who had appointed them to run proprietary churches on their estates, but otherwise treated them like serfs. This was contrary to the law of the Church, and Charles tried to stop such abuses which, however, could not be quite suppressed. Another abuse was that laymen became the heads of abbeys. In many ways the Church and the nobles pursued the aim of increasing their own power and wealth at the expense of the king, and the vastness of the Empire, the lack of a reliable civil service and the backwardness of administrative methods made it very often impossible to prevent these doings. Even if the King got knowledge of such actions he could not always ruthlessly suppress them as he depended on the goodwill of the Church and the nobles for the conduct of public affairs.

Charles possessed great cultural interests. He spoke, besides Frankish, fluent Latin and understood Greek. In his old age he made efforts to master the art of writing, but with little success. At his

court he assembled famous scholars of many nations. The most prominent of them was the Anglo-Saxon Alcuin, who exercised great influence on the King in religious and cultural matters. He brought many other learned Anglo-Saxons with him, and they lifted the Frankish Church from a low level to the first rank in theology and learning. In his letters to the King, Alcuin often expressed the greatest horror of war and bloodshed and disapproved of the forcible conversion of heathens and of every harsh treatment of them. At the King's request he composed a song for the Frankish warriors with a view, as he wrote, to tempering the ferocity of minds by a sweet melody. Alcuin was the soul of the literary and learned aspirations under Charles' patronage which led to a revival of classical studies and the flowering of the arts. Charles showed also interest in the Frankish vernacular, thought of a Frankish grammar, replaced Latin designations by Frankish ones and had the old folk-songs collected.

The King had also understanding for the importance of economic progress and gave care to a uniform and good coinage, to weights and measures, to the construction of roads and bridges, to the freedom of traffic from unjustified tolls and to the interests of foreign trade. He ordered that travellers should find hospitality. Eginhard relates that he liked foreigners and received them with particular benevolence. The Jews, too, were well treated, and one of them named Isaac was sent, together with two nobles, on an important mission to the Caliph of Baghdad, Haroun-al-Rashid, probably as an interpreter. The two nobles died on the way, but Isaac accomplished the mission with full success and came back with precious gifts, among them an elephant named Abul Abbas, which made a prodigious impression on the Franks. Charles was so proud of his elephant that it had to accompany him even on his journeys.

In view of the extremely practical mind of the King and of his understanding for economic questions, it may appear surprising that he did not thoroughly reform the state finances, in particular by developing an effective system of taxes in money. True, there were imposts on persons and land, tolls, contributions called gifts but actually obligatory, income from fines, confiscations and the vast royal domains, and tributes of subjected countries. Enormous treasures were captured from the Avars but they were largely given to the Church. The main income, however, consisted in agricultural and other products and various services, and the revenues in money were rather irregular. The income in products had to be consumed on the spot, or in not too remote regions, as transport was difficult. This system was probably unavoidable because of the insufficient

development of a money economy in many parts and of a trained and reliable personnel for collecting taxes, and still more because freemen regarded the paying of taxes as derogatory to their status. The utmost was that they very reluctantly made 'voluntary' gifts. A financial reform might have provoked the greatest resistance. The King, therefore, remained bound to the feudal system, which soon after his death was to lead to the collapse of all his achievements in building a state.

Charles' regime brought great benefits to wide sections of his peoples. Its aims were not merely power and glory but also a firm reign of law, the welfare of the people and, most of all, the salvation of souls. All these aims required a strong central power, based not only on military strength but still more on spiritual authority and the progress of civilisation. Yet the means of administration, finance, and education and the public mind were by no means sufficiently developed to make possible the lasting realisation of those great aims. The enormous expansion of the Empire was also a great obstacle. In Charlemagne's Empire ever more unfavourable trends gradually became conspicuous. For a long time, however, the advantages and also the impression of his extraordinary personality outweighed all the short-comings. His majestic appearance and great affability, his psychological skill and other outstanding faculties secured him an immense respect and reputation in all countries and he was celebrated as the ideal of a Christian ruler. Alcuin liked to call Charles Emperor already before his coronation.

In the last phase of Charles' reign the Empire was increasingly threatened by foreign aggressors, in the south by the Saracens, in the north by Vikings and Slavs. On the other hand, wars with the Saxons, which had lasted about 32 years, came to an end (804). This made possible the foundation of new Saxon bishoprics for the propagation and consolidation of Christianity. Now also the northern and eastern frontiers could be effectively protected by the establishment of strongholds and the organisation of marches, which were regions under the command of margraves equipped with wide powers.

Towards the close of Charles' reign an atmosphere of disappointment and pessimism was pervading society which reflected the growing awareness of forces threatening the future of the Empire, social discontent and the longing for religious and moral inwardness. Many symptoms of this sentiment have been discussed in Fichtenau's important book. The Emperor himself had a vision predicting the end of his house or perhaps even the world, and he seems to have considered laying down his crown. Public opinion

interpreted natural phenomena as omens of great disaster to come. Pious Christians were disgruntled by conditions in the Church and longed for a revival of the spirit by rigid mortification of the flesh. The life of the great nobles and powerful churchmen aroused bitter comments. The times of general prosperity had passed and complaints about the oppression of the people by those in power were rampant. The people were tired of war and yearned for peace and justice. Charles' legislation denounced many abuses and tried to abolish them but could not change the social conditions of which they were the consequence.

The most ominous sign was the growth of a feudalism tending to separate the King from the people by a barrier of great and small lords. This process had begun long ago, had been temporarily halted but then continued to work again. Long wars in remote countries naturally required professional warriors, well equipped and efficient, not untrained and badly armed peasants. Charles relieved the poorer freemen from service in the army, but they had to contribute to the equipment of a soldier, had to deliver and cart provisions, to build bridges and fortifications, give billets to soldiers, etc. No wonder that many free peasants tried to escape these burdens either by becoming serfs of a monastery or a lord, in which case these became responsible, or by becoming monks, perhaps only in appearance. The counts often abused their power as officials to compel the peasants to abandon their freedom. Many disobeyed the call-up. In 807 the Emperor ordered the assembly of an army for an expedition, but so few men presented themselves that he sent home those who had appeared and gave up the planned campaign altogether. But also the lords complained of the burdens of war and asserted that during their absence the serfs ceased to pay rent and perform *corvées* and did them other damage. The only remedy would have been an adequate system of taxes in money which would have distributed the expenses over the whole Empire and all classes. But this was impossible. Though the Emperor tried to alleviate burdens and to abolish abuses he could not touch the fundamental causes of discontent. He had even to make important concessions to feudalism. The oath of allegiance of all subjects was modified in the feudal sense though the general right of the King to loyalty irrespective of feudal obligations was not waived.

Few rulers have ever so deeply impressed the mind of their time and of posterity as Charlemagne. An enormous mythology around his person developed all over Europe which reflected the aspirations of dynasties, nations and parties and invoked the great

Emperor as a witness for the most divergent claims. It was often stated that there never was a prince like Charlemagne and never would be again. The claim to a crown was frequently based on real or alleged descent from him. The French chivalrous poetry glorified him as the ideal of knightly virtues, though in reality he was mainly an organiser and leader of armies, not a combatant knight himself. In Germany it was first clerics who narrated his life and work, and they stressed mainly his piety, justice and wisdom, though some were dissatisfied with his morals. In the times of the crusades Charlemagne was celebrated as the protagonist of Christianity against the heathen. Every time and party saw him in their own light and tried to exploit his name for their own aims. The French were convinced that he was a Frenchman and soon concluded that the Imperial crown really belonged to France and that the Germans had only usurped it. In the thirteenth century the great German chivalrous poets, too, regarded Charlemagne as French. German national sentiment later led to many protests against this claim, which, however, long had defenders in Germany, too. French popular legends predicted the coming of a great emperor named Charles who would create lasting peace on earth.

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THE FALL OF THE FRANKISH EMPIRE

EVEN Charlemagne complied with the Germanic tradition of partitioning a realm among sons and fixed his succession accordingly. But his two elder sons died before him, and this accident decided that the youngest son, Lewis, was the only successor. It is significant for the public mind that the planned partition had taken no regard to nationality or language at all. Each of the three realms intended was to comprise widely different elements. Moreover, provision had been made to maintain a certain communion between the parts.

Lewis I, surnamed the Pious (814-840), had a mild and peaceable character, was deeply religious, but possessed little energy and self-confidence. He would have become a monk had his father not vetoed this. Charles had before his death made him co-Emperor without intercession of the Pope, letting him set the Imperial crown upon his own head himself. But after his father's death Lewis had himself crowned a second time by the Pope, which was characteristic of his mind. After his accession he at once purged the court of all immoral elements and sent out envoys to the provinces charged with investigating the actions of the counts and judges, to make good every injustice committed by them, to restore their patrimony to the oppressed and freedom to those unjustly reduced to servitude. The chronicler Thegan relates that the envoys found innumerable people who had been oppressed by the counts and viscounts, and everywhere the Emperor restored their rights. All this must have made him very unpopular with a great part of the nobility and probably contributed much to his later misfortunes, though Thegan himself tries to put the main blame on people of low birth whom the Emperor had promoted to the highest digni-

ties. The Emperor found a congenial friend and helper in Benedict, Abbot of Aniane, a Goth nobleman, who reformed the Benedictine monasteries and until his death (821) exercised such influence that he was almost the real regent. Lewis's devotion to the Church sometimes induced him to sacrifice interests of the State, such as the making of bishops and abbots. But this would not have been too high a price for a regime based on the co-operation of the ecclesiastical and temporal powers to realise reforms in the spirit of Christianity. The Church then possessed leaders such as Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, Agobard of Lyons and Jonas of Orleans, who in important points had also progressive political views, which will be discussed later. Principal aims of the Church were the maintenance of the political unity of the Empire, a certain social unification by the abolition of slavery and tribalism and the suppression of blood-revenge, feuds, ordeals of battle and similar remnants of pagan barbarism. The safeguarding of the Empire as a unity was also an economic interest of the Church and of many great nobles who had estates in different parts and feared to lose some in the case of a partition. It was their influence which induced Lewis to enact, soon after his accession (817) a statute which made his eldest son, Lothar, co-Emperor, while the two younger ones were to be Kings subordinated to him. But Lewis made also concessions to the aristocracy, sacrificing to them an effective control of local administration, and committed other political mistakes. When his second wife, Judith, induced him to give a share in the Empire also to her son, Charles, who had been born long after the statute mentioned before, this aroused violent opposition on the part of his elder sons.

The further reign of the Emperor Lewis was full of struggles within his family and of fierce civil wars. His elder sons first revolted against him and the Church sided with them. Lewis had to suffer great humiliations and was practically deposed. But soon the sons began to quarrel among themselves and the father was re-instated in his Imperial dignity. At the same time, the Empire was continually attacked by Norsemen, Saracens and Slavs and terribly ravaged. Tribal particularism rose against the defenders of unity. The internal struggles weakened the forces of defence to a degree that the savage aggressors could often penetrate deep into the Empire.

When Lewis the Pious died the Empire was in 843 at Verdun divided among his sons. Charles received the western part, which became France, Lewis obtained the east, the later Germany, and between these realms a long zone stretching from the mouth of

the Rhine to Italy fell to Lothar. The middle kingdom comprised large lands on the left bank of the Rhine, later called Lotharingia, further Burgundy, the Provence and Italy. These divisions were made without any regard to language or tribal frontiers. On the other hand, a complete dissolution of the Frankish Empire was by no means intended. The brothers were to rule each in his part but in close agreement. They were to make a common policy and each could criticise acts of another. They actually tried to realise this, but with little success. The idea that the Empire was common property of all rather induced each partner to attempt aggrandisement at the cost of the others whenever an opportunity offered itself.

Charles, called the Bald, may be regarded as the first King of France, and Lewis, called the German, as the first King of Germany, though officially the two countries were called West and East Francia. In neither of them was there as yet a distinct feeling of forming a nation, though in the following times signs of nascent feelings of this kind can be observed. But much stronger were the forces tending to dissolve the unity of the future national territories, namely feudalism, tribalism and territorialism. France was ahead in developing feudalism to extremes, while in Germany the older conditions maintained themselves better. But in Germany tribalism was particularly powerful. Lastly, great noblemen undertook also to build up independent territories without a tribal basis. The great nobles were often in a position to defend their territories better than the King, and this won them the allegiance of the people.

The rise of the feudal power led to the decline of the central institutions which Charlemagne had founded. The enactment of general laws ceased, first in Germany and later also in France. The administrative organisation, too, began to dissolve. The Church remained the defender of the unity of the Frankish Empire and tried to safeguard whatever was left of it. The French Church, however, tried to emancipate herself from the royal power, thereby weakening also the King's means to protect her against the rapacity of the nobles. The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals tended to elevate ecclesiastical power over that of royalty. The Popes, too, began to shake off the overlordship of the Frankish kings and to proclaim their own supremacy, though many of them, threatened by the Saracens or other enemies, were compelled to implore the kings to come to their rescue. The divisions between the Carolingians enhanced the influence of the Church. Pope Nicholas intervened in an affair of King Lothar II, who had divorced his lawful wife to marry his concubine. He severely reprobated him, forced him to

submit and deposed the Archbishops of Cologne and Treves who had taken the side of the King. This would have been impossible under Charlemagne.

The title of Emperor was not yet connected with German royalty. It was at first conferred on the ruler of the middle realm, then went to the French and later to the German king, was further used by two Italian rulers and at last decorated the German King Arnulf. Several times the Pope decided who was to be Emperor and the title lost much of its lustre and importance.

It is significant for the power of the Germanic tradition of partitioning realms among heirs that the first division of the Empire in the treaty of Verdun was soon followed by further ones. Both the German King Lewis and King Lothar of the Middle Realm divided their kingdoms among several heirs. The French King Charles alone wanted that only his eldest son should succeed him, but this was frustrated by the nobles. Most of these partitions, however, were soon made ineffective by the death of heirs. Every such case caused struggles about the heritage among the survivors. When Lothar II died, the French King Charles wanted to get hold of the whole of Lotharingia, but his brother Lewis of Germany forced him to divide it with him in the treaty of Mersen (870). A few years later Lewis died, and now Charles tried to obtain the whole of Lotharingia and possibly of Germany but was defeated in the battle of Andernach, the first great battle between Germans and French. But soon Charles died, and now the principal German ruler, then Lewis II, annexed also the part of Lotharingia which the treaty of Mersen had accorded to France. Lotharingia and other parts of the former Middle Realm became an apple of discord between Germany and France. Subsequently it repeatedly changed hands but at last definitely fell to Germany since France was then weakened by the conflict between rival dynasties and by feudal disintegration.

Not only Lotharingia but also other parts of the short-lived Middle Realm, such as Burgundy and the Provence, became objects of a very long rivalry between France and Germany. The peoples of these lands predominantly spoke French, though in the Rhinelands proper the language was German. Outside stood Flanders, where Low German was spoken but which was under French overlordship. But language or nationality was long no decisive factor in determining the feelings of a people or of its ruling classes. Lotharingia, in particular, comprised the original seats of the Franks, and her nobles largely clung to the Frankish and Carolingian tradition, in which France naturally occupied the place of

pride. The feudal mind further wanted the greatest possible independence and preferred a weak overlord to a strong one. When, later, French national sentiment developed, it was naturally resented that large lands of the French tongue were separated from France, and Caesar's remark was remembered that the frontier of Gaul was the Rhine.

The last Emperor who ruled the entire Frankish Empire was Charles III of the German line. French nobles invited this German King to become also their ruler, but his failure to defeat the Norman invaders led to his overthrow. From now on France and Germany were definitely separated, though many were reluctant to recognise this. In the German realm Arnulf of Carinthia, a Carolingian of illegitimate birth, succeeded, and after him his son, Lewis IV. With the death of the latter (911) the male line of the German Carolingians died out. Real power had more and more passed to the dukes of the five great tribes and it depended on these whether they would elect a king. The Church stood for unity again, and it was due to her influence that Conrad, Duke of Franconia, was elected. His short reign was full of struggles with tribal particularism, barbarian invaders and feudal sedition.

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POLITICAL THOUGHT AND SENTIMENT
IN THE TIME OF THE LATE CAROLINGIANS

THE policy of Charlemagne, guided by Alcuin, had elevated the Frankish Church to a high rank. The Emperor had made good use of his power to appoint the bishops and abbots, and in his time and that of his next successors the Church possessed an extraordinary number of leaders of the highest accomplishments as priests, scholars and statesmen. This led also to the flowering of thought in many fields. The kings who succeeded Charles were mostly well educated and interested in religious and cultural questions, and also among the nobles there were friends of learning and poetry, particularly among the women. The French King Charles the Bald called scholars from many countries to his court. He made the Neo-Platonic pantheist Johannes Scotus Erigena, an Irishman, director of his court school, was his intimate friend and protected him against the wrath of the orthodox. France was then foremost in theological and philosophical speculation. Germany, too, had great scholars, but they excelled more in grammatical and general scientific studies and in the explanation of the Scriptures.

The time was marked by important dogmatic controversies. Was Christ born a man or god? Was will free or unfree, and was the fate of man predetermined by God or not? Were the words of Christ in instituting the sacrament of his body and blood to be understood verbally or symbolically? Should the intervention of the Saints be invoked and should they, their relics or images receive a cult? These and other questions were passionately discussed, and sometimes unrest arose among the people and the King had to consult his theologians on what was the truth. The dogmatic questions were also of importance for the building up of the hierarchy and, therefore, for the State as well. The doctrine that the Church pos-

sessed the key that could open and close the gates of heaven was to exercise great influence on politics. The Papacy emancipated itself from its subordinate position under Charlemagne, it resumed the theory of Pope Gelasius (fifth century) that God had created two powers, the spiritual and the temporal, and that the former was the higher one.

A system of doctrines about the powers of the Church and their holders was worked out which, after various precursors, received its classical formulation in a collection of statutes compiled about the middle of the ninth century and known as the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. Besides genuine documents it contains many falsifications. The aim was primarily to make the Church free from the interference from the King and the nobles, who often used their power to despoil and exploit the Church. The kings, moreover, tended to claim supremacy over the Church and to make her an instrument of government. The archbishops were usually the principal ministers and counsellors of the King and leaned to the idea of a national Church practically independent of Rome. On the other hand, they often stressed their power over the bishops and abbots and wanted to make them their subordinates. It was, therefore, natural that the opposition of the bishops was directed not only against the kings but also against the archbishops and that they attributed supreme power to the Pope who, as they hoped, would protect them against the King and his helpers. The Decretals declare that God had given the power of keys to the bishops. They are his eyes, envoys and representatives, the successors of the Apostles and the pillars of the Church. The priesthood was elevated high over the lay world. They were to have full autonomy and be exempt from jurisdiction or orders of the secular government, but the lay world was to be subject to the jurisdiction and discipline exercised by the priesthood. Every secular law not in accordance with the law of the Church was null and void. The authority of the archbishops or metropolitans was to be reduced and that of the bishops enhanced. To this end the Papacy was elevated to supreme authority over the whole Church.

Ecclesiastical writers further often undertook to delineate the ideal of a king according to the teachings of the Bible and the Fathers. It is not the questions of public law which are in the foreground of these tracts but the religious and moral ones. This kind of book is known as *Mirror for Princes*. They were usually dedicated to the king of the realm where the author lived. Some churchmen have also written similar books addressed to powerful counts,

in which they wanted to show how these should exercise their duties.

Towards the end of Charlemagne's reign the Abbot Smaragdus of St. Mihiel, in his work *The Royal Road*, written for the youthful King Lewis, described the duties which a Christian king must fulfil to find the road to the fatherland in heaven where the pious kings of the Old Testament will be ready to welcome him. He must be a father of the poor and the orphans, a defender of the widows, an educator of the strangers and a just judge for all. He should be mild and peaceable but zealous in faith, he should suppress pride, jealousy and wrath, not return evil for evil, and be open-handed to the Church. The king should also see to it that slavery ends in his realm. Everybody should set free his slaves, since all men are born as equals.

An important tract on the duties of a king was written between 831 and 834 by the learned Jonas, Bishop of Orleans. The book begins with stating the superiority of the spiritual power over the worldly on the ground that the priests are responsible to God for the conduct of the kings, who are responsible for their peoples. The aims of government are peace on earth and salvation in heaven. The kings have their power from God, whether directly or indirectly remains unclear. A good king, therefore, is God's representative, his position is an office dependent on fulfilment of his duties. A king who disregards these loses his office and his descendants lose their right of succession. Justice, equity, concord and peace pave the way to salvation. Justice is the foundation of all virtues. The king must particularly protect the widows, orphans, poor and strangers and safeguard his people against sorcerers exploiting its superstitions, against godless persons and foreign enemies. He also owes protection and every help to the Church. Justice was at that time primarily administered according to the customary law, but the king might alter it if the Christian conscience demanded it—if necessary with the consent of the people. About this point, however, Jonas is rather vague. It seems that he accords to the king no great influence on legislation as Hincmar did. The divine laws naturally appeared to him much more important than the human ones. He stresses that the king should appoint as executive organs, such as dukes and counts, only such as regard themselves as equal to the people and treat it with justice and mildness. Jonas often dwells on the natural equality of men. Authority has only been given to safeguard it; it means that the strong have to protect the weak. Many examples of history show that providence punishes tyrants. The people, however, have no

right to judge kings. It is the task of the bishops to supervise and guide and also to reprimand and punish them.

The Irishman Sedulius Scotus was, in the middle of the ninth century, a teacher at St. Lamberts in Liège and later lived in Milan. He wrote many poems, commentaries on the Scriptures and a tract on the duties of Christian rulers. Besides his theological learning he also knew Greek and showed traits of a Humanist. His advice to rulers is that they should first of all rule themselves, put divine things above worldly ones and rely less on their own judgment than on that of their wisest counsellors. He further discusses in detail the character of good and bad kings and lays great stress upon generosity towards the Church and submission to the reprimands of the priests, who are doctors of the soul. A king must avoid war as far as possible, but perpetual peace is not desirable. Fight and trouble are sometimes more advantageous to man than quietude and leisure. Peace enervates, makes careless and timid, but war steels courage, makes us disregard what is only transitory and often leads to greater concord. This appreciation of war is quite unusual in the literature of this kind. But it is understandable considering the incessant incursions of heathen enemies and the often very weak counter-actions. Sedulius was in close relation to the Count Eberhard of Friaul, a doughty warrior and friend of letters, who also possessed a considerable library. In his poems Sedulius praises him for his victories over the Norsemen and Saracens.

The greatest statesman of the time was Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims. He was a Frank of noble birth and very learned and ascetic but also most energetic, domineering and sometimes unscrupulous. At the wish of Charles the Bald he wrote a book on the duties of royalty. After the King's death the great of the realm asked him to write yet another treatise on the Church and State for the instruction of his successor, which opus is an important source for our knowledge of the political institutions of the Frankish realm. He also wrote historical, theological and poetic works. In one of his smaller tracts he relates the vision of a certain Bernold, who in grave illness saw purgatory, where he discovered not only many bishops but also King Charles the Bald. The King was in a dark place in squalor and putridity, eaten by worms, though sometimes rays and sweet odours wafted in from heaven. He confided to Bernold that he had to suffer for his sins because he had not followed Hincmar's counsels. Hincmar alone could redeem him by his prayers. The chronicler Flodoard relates that Hincmar made this vision known to numerous people wherever it seemed necessary to him.

Visions often had a political significance and reflected currents of public opinion. The mind of the time was so excitable that many people in a state of trance or in dream saw purgatory or hell and perceived there how kings and magnates were punished for their sins. A remarkable case was the vision of a poor woman who in ecstasy witnessed how several once-powerful persons were tortured, among them Charlemagne himself, the Empress Irmingard and Bego, a son-in-law of the reigning Emperor Lewis. Bego was much hated by the people because of his avarice, and the woman saw how devils poured liquid gold into his mouth. But even the name of the Emperor Lewis appeared to her in an ominous connexion. The woman received the divine order to tell this to the Emperor and actually did so.

Another famous vision was that of the learned monk Wettin, who in grave illness saw hell and purgatory and dictated a report to other monks after his awakening. Abbot Haito described these visions in prose and Walahfried Strabo in almost one thousand hexameters. Wettin found in hell numerous priests together with their concubines, who were tortured for their sins. In purgatory, too, there were high churchmen, among them a bishop who had said that visions were merely hallucinations. Then Wettin was horrified seeing even Charlemagne, who was punished for his sexual licence. An animal lacerated that part of his body with which he had sinned. Next to him were counts who had violated their duty as judges and had accepted bribes, and so on.

The synod of Quercy (858) sent an admonition, drawn up by Hincmar, to the German King Lewis II, reminding him of a vision in which Bishop Eucherius of Orleans had seen Charles Martell being tortured in hell because he had seized property of the Church. Audradus Modicus, a friend of Hincmar, published a number of visions in which Christ appeared to him and which had an outspoken political tendency. They dealt with the civil wars between Lewis the Pious and his sons and between the latter, and partly criticised Charles the Bald. But the King was not intimidated and even declared them as fraud. For this, Audradus asserts, God punished Charles by a new invasion of the Normans.

One of the most prominent churchmen and a political publicist of great vigour was Agobard. In 816 he succeeded his teacher, Leidrad, a Bavarian, as Archbishop of Lyons. He boldly attacked many superstitions, partly on ground of religion, partly for reasons of common sense. Among other things he combated the belief in magical practices to make good or bad weather, the adoration of images and of the bones of saints and ordeals in judicial procedure.

Every ordeal was absurd and judicial duel was the worst. The tribal principle in law was also nonsense. Among Christians there should be only one law. Agobard further wrote four pamphlets against the Jews, who were in great favour with the Emperor Lewis the Pious, apparently for biblical reasons. The Jews were then the principal slave traders. They complained that some of their heathen slaves had been baptised and had then run away in the belief that as Christians they had a right to liberty. Various councils had prohibited the baptising of slaves against the will of their owners. Agobard opposed this prohibition, though he wanted to pay the Jews what the slaves were worth. But the principal ministers were on the side of the Jews, and under their influence the Emperor decided in their favour. Agobard, however, continued his agitation and now also wanted that Christians should have no community with Jews who, as he alleged, were used to cursing Christ. They should not sell Christian slaves to Jews nor permit these to export the former, nor enter with them into relations incompatible with the Christian religion, nor buy from them meat rejected as unfit for Jewish consumption, though otherwise they should not do any harm to the Jews. As all his propaganda had no effect, Agobard became ever more passionate. He denounced Jewish superstitions, quoted biblical passages against them and expressed the fear that Christians would soon become Jews while every effort to convert the latter had failed. Agobard's writings show that the Jews were then treated with great tolerance. He also wrote political pamphlets against the Emperor Lewis and his wife Judith.

In the second half of the tenth century the Abbot Adso of Montier-en-Der, or Toul, a Burgundian of noble origin, wrote a book on the Antichrist which had great influence on political thought. It was directed against the widespread fear that the advent of the Antichrist and the end of time were imminent. The interpretation of a passage in the Bible, however, led to the conclusion that he would only come when the Roman Empire had ended. The last King of the Franks will restore the full greatness of the Roman Empire, defeat the northern peoples Gog and Magog and, at last, go to Jerusalem and lay down his crown and sceptre. This will be the end of the Empire. Then the Antichrist will break forth and win world domination by terror, bribes, fraud and false miracles. But after three and a half years Christ will appear and then will come the end of the Antichrist. This vision made a great impression on popular imagination.

In the German parts of the Frankish Empire the public mentality was predominantly the same as in the French regions. The scholars

of both parts still formed a close community. The first great scholar of Frankish origin in Germany was Hrabanus Maurus, a disciple of Alcuin and later Abbot of Fulda and Archbishop of Mayence. There are many parallels between his thought and that of the great Western churchmen. In particular, Hrabanus agreed with Agobard and Hincmar in combating superstitions and the exploitation of the people's credulity by magicians, prophets and similar swindlers. In his conflict with Gottschalk he also rejected the tribal principle of law and the proposed ordeal. In the struggle between the sons of Lewis the Pious and later, the contending parties made use of ordeals to prove their rights. The battle of Fontenay (841), in particular, was arranged as a judicial combat and surrounded with solemn religious forms intended to show that it was not an ordinary battle. Hrabanus was also critical of this procedure. But while Agobard joined the sons of the Emperor Lewis in their revolt, Hrabanus, like Jonas of Orleans, remained faithful to the Emperor. He supported his cause by writing a tract on the duty of sons to obey their father and of subjects to respect the king. A controversy of great importance was that on predestination. The monk Gottschalk later taught that God was the originator both of good and evil and had predestinated every soul to heaven or hell. Gottschalk had derived this doctrine from Augustine. As a wandering preacher he spread it widely in different countries and his followers formed a sort of sect. Hrabanus strongly combated him, pointing out that the Old Testament promised rewards and punishment and that according to the Gospels true belief in Christ and active love secured salvation to every soul. The idea of predestination to hell, Hrabanus found, brought many to despair and it was destructive of morality and justice. Why should men avoid sin or lead a virtuous life if their doings had no influence whatever on their fate after death? Predestination, however, had also other adherents than Gottschalk. Many important theologians were more or less under the sway of Augustine. Another momentous controversy was that on Transubstantiation, in which Paschasius Radbertus and Ratramus defended opposite views.

The ninth and tenth centuries exhibited everywhere signs of nascent national aspirations. The diversity of languages alone sometimes sufficed to create animosity between German and French warriors, as cases related by Wandalbert of Pruem and Richer of St. Remi show. Richer also regards the French Carolingians still as the legitimate rulers of the entire Empire and accords to the German Kings Henry I and Otto I merely the title of Duke of Saxony. But there was no wide or deep-rooted hostility between French and

Germans. The different tribes which were to be fused into one of these nations had not yet developed much sense of a wider unity, but rather regarded one another as strangers and were inspired by mutual prejudice. Hrabanus Maurus, in his conflict with Gottschalk, shows great pride in the superiority of the Franks over the Saxons and compares the Franks with the Romans. His pupil, the monk Otfrid of Weissenburg, was equally proud of the achievements of the Franks. In the sixties of the ninth century he wrote a versified and rhymed paraphrase of part of the Gospels in the Frankish language, partly in order to show that also this language could be used for Christian poetry. In the preface he praises the Franks as equals of the Romans in bravery and intelligence, as indomitable warriors feared by all peoples and as zealous Christians. No Frank would tolerate to be ruled by a foreign king or people. The Frankish king, however, rules many peoples in an excellent way and educates them like his own people to virtue.

Translations into the vernacular had begun already towards the close of the eighth century, and about 830 an unknown author wrote a poem, *Heliand* (the Saviour), based on the Gospels in the Saxon language. It gives Christ the traits of a great Germanic king and his disciples resemble followers who are bound to be faithful to their lord and to die for him. In spite of the admixture of Teutonic tradition, however, the author says that all men form one sib and are brothers by blood, and he rejects the obligation of blood-revenge which was incumbent on the Germanic sib.

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RELIGIOUS REVIVAL. CLUNY AND LORRAINE

THE decline of royalty, the growth of unbridled feudalism, the rise of tribal separatism and the invasions of the Vikings, Hungarians and Saracens led after the end of the ninth century to anarchy and complete demoralisation. In Rome the Papacy fell under the power of Roman aristocratic houses and sank to a state of utter corruption. In Germany in little more than two decades ten bishops died on the battlefield. In France feudalism had advanced farther than anywhere else, and Lorraine came next. It was natural, therefore, that a reaction against the evils of feudal violence should first take place in the western parts of the former Empire. Attempts to restore Christian piety and purity were made in various places. The most important movements for a religious revival were initiated in the monasteries of Cluny in Burgundy and of Gorze in Lorraine. Cluny was in 910 endowed by Duke William of Aquitaine and organised by Abbot Berno. Gorze at about the same time started a similar movement as that of Cluny without being directly influenced by her.

The reformatory movement mainly aimed at the restoration of the old rules laid down by Benedict of Nursia and elaborated by the practice of Benedict of Aniane. The principal demands besides the religious ones were strict obedience to the Abbot, chastity, poverty, self-denial, charity, humility, silence and contemplation. The eating of meat of quadrupeds was to be avoided, since it stimulated fleshly lusts. Manual work was prescribed, because, as the elder Benedict said, laziness was the enemy of the soul and also in order to make the community self-supporting. Cluny, however, did not demand much manual work from the brothers, but appreciated it as an exercise of humility.

Benedict of Nursia already had declared that private property was the worst vice and must be purged from monastic life. The monks, therefore, had to give up all personal property, except the most indispensable belongings. The community, however, could have property and soon received large donations from kings and nobles desiring the prayers of the monks for the salvation of their souls. The Cluniacs, in consequence, could live on the returns of their estates and left menial services to illiterate brothers, while they themselves devoted their life to praying, liturgical duties, learned studies and a grandiose cultivation of the fine arts for the glorification of God. They further exercised the greatest charity to the poor and hospitality to strangers.

The monks of Cluny came mainly from the nobility, and not a few of them had formerly led a lawless life and now wanted to atone for their outrages. Dukes, margraves and counts competed in austerity and self-humiliation, performing the lowliest services to other friars and to the poor. On the other hand, Cluny did not prescribe excessive asceticism, the monks practised self-denial, self-control and self-abasement but did not torture themselves, unless as a punishment. Unlike those ascetics who regarded corporeal filthiness and a dishevelled appearance as a way to sanctity, they laid stress on cleanliness, bathing and decent though simple clothing. Many rules imposed upon them the utmost discipline and a dignified attitude even in the smallest acts. Disobedience and pride were considered most condemnable sins. But even unnecessary conversation was banned. The brothers should only talk when permitted, and as a rule deep silence was to reign and to create an atmosphere favourable to spiritual contemplation. The discipline of the monks gave them a military appearance, and writers compared them with an army and their abbot with a king. Even these strict rules did not prevent for ever the intrusion of many abuses. But on the whole Cluny has, by its example, done much to mitigate the violent, unruly temper of the feudal classes.

In spite of the predominance of monks of noble origin, Cluny was strongly opposed to the abuses introduced by the nobility, such as the proprietary system of churches, the conduct of the advocates and the feudalisation of the Church in general. Cluny, therefore, developed a centralising spirit which in practice was anti-feudal, though not in principle. From the beginning it was laid down that no king, nobleman or bishop was to have any authority over Cluny. Her abbot, elected by the monks, was subordinated only to the Pope, who did not interfere much in her affairs. The original aim was the cultivation of true Christianity within the

monasteries, not a reform of the Church as a whole. For a long time Cluny neither had political aims, nor did she care for the reform of the secular clergy. The founders of her greatness often refused high ecclesiastical dignities, even that of Pope. Later, however, the reform movement unavoidably came into conflict with the secular powers and thereby assumed a political character. The reformers opposed particularly the investiture of bishops and abbots by kings and nobles, which was usually dependent on financial conditions resembling a purchase of the post. This was branded as the sin of Simony. Further, they ever more emphasised the necessity of celibacy for the whole clergy.

Gorze was already in its beginnings less aristocratic than Cluny, and some of the early leaders came from the peasantry and the unlearned classes. For some time she cultivated a stricter asceticism than Cluny. In addition, Gorze neither shared Cluny's opposition to the influence of the bishops, nor her increasing condemnation of the proprietary rights of the Empire and great nobles. Gorze herself was a proprietary monastery of the Bishop of Metz and left great independence to the single abbeys, which were often guided by the bishops of their dioceses. In the tenth and eleventh centuries one hundred and sixty-six German monasteries followed the observance of Gorze.

Cluny owed her rise to leadership in religious and moral revival to a number of great abbots, such as Odo, Majolus, Odilo and Hugo I, as well as other personalities of outstanding piety, learning and statesmanship. The abbots were friends of emperors and kings and enjoyed at all courts great respect and influence. If faced with political questions they stood for a policy of concord and moderation, and in great conflicts between Emperor and Pope tried to mediate or to remain neutral. Since Odilo Cluny also began to exercise a permanent supremacy over other monasteries, and his successor, Hugo, did this on a large scale. In this way a congregation of many monasteries and priories was built up which were all under the control of the Abbot of Cluny, and it spread over many countries. The Abbot nominated every Superior of these houses and even decided about the admittance of every monk, who also had to live a few years at Cluny. According to Guy de Valous' careful investigations, the peak was reached under Abbot Hugo I (1040-1109), when Cluny had in France eight hundred and fifteen houses, in Germany one hundred and five, in Spain twenty-three, in Italy fifty-two and in the British Isles forty-three. Chagny states that the number of houses was more than eleven hundred. Many others were influenced by the spirit of Cluny.

In the eleventh century Cluny made great efforts to put an end to the numerous feuds devastating the country and to abolish blood revenge. Synods inspired by Cluny tried to enforce general appeasement by ecclesiastical means, even by a threat of stopping all sacred acts, and when this did not suffice, the peaceable elements were organised to suppress violence by force of arms. At last a relative form of pacification was propagated, called the Truce of God. It did not absolutely forbid feuds but tried to restrict them to a minimum. Certain places should be immune, the arms were to rest on most days and the non-feudal classes were to be spared. This movement first spread in the South of France, later also in the North and in other countries: The governments, too, took up this policy and gave it force.

Cluny further used a great part of her wealth to support the poor. Abbot Odo says in a book that history showed that the powerful classes were always the worst offenders. High rank was not created by nature but by ambition. The rich grind the faces of the poor and lavish the products of their toil in luxuries and revelry. It is the poor that sow and garner the grain. The many must toil that the few may live at ease. But great will be the reward of the rich in hell! Odo also practised an unlimited charity towards the poor regardless of the financial situation of the monastery or his own personal needs.

In spite of such sharp criticism of the upper classes, Cluny was not for the abolition of social ranks. She retained an aristocratic spirit and discriminated between high-born and low-born men, though different abbots varied in their practice. The idea was very widespread that each rank had its separate task and way of life and that the intermingling of people of different rank led to jealousy and strife.

Cluny's greatest time was the eleventh century; then a decline set in. Critical voices blamed the monks for leading too worldly a life. The enthusiasm of fresh reformers was needed to initiate a new religious revival. But Cluny and Lorraine started a spiritual development which went far beyond the original intention of their founders and prepared the soil for a revolution. The Pseudo-Isidorian principles were ever more used to proclaim the supremacy of the spiritual power, every conferment of an ecclesiastical dignity by a king was condemned, the concept of Simony was greatly extended and the marriage of priests was denounced as concubinate. The reform movement, too, had its moderates and its radicals, and it culminated in the policy of Gregory VII.

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GERMANY UNDER THE SAXON HOUSE

A NEW era began in Germany with the rise of the Saxon dynasty. The Saxon Duke Henry I was in 919 elected King of East-Francia by the Saxons and Franks, and he later compelled also the other tribal dukes to recognise him, though they retained a great measure of independence. He sought to emancipate himself from the Church but later realised her value as an ally. Henry organised the defence against the incursions of the Hungarians and repelled a great attack they made. He further expanded Saxon domination in the east and north in struggles with the Slavs and Danes, and this opened new areas to the missionary work of the Church. In conflicts with France he recovered Lotharingia.

His son and successor, Otto I (936-73), determined the whole future course of German history more than any other ruler, and was the only German King whom history has called 'The Great'. His character and mind justified this surname. The first half of his reign was filled with long and hard struggles with the tribal dukes. Even a great section of the Saxon nobles, leading bishops and many of his nearest relatives repeatedly revolted against him. At different times two French Kings tried to make use of the internal strife to win back Lotharingia, but Otto frustrated this, twice waging war with France. He acted also as arbiter between two rivals for the French crown, who were both his brothers-in-law. Burgundy, too, came under Otto's influence, since her King needed his protection. The revolts of dukes ended with Otto's victory, which he used to secure the royal power of nominating counts and bishops that the dukes had arrogated, and he took other measures to strengthen the central power. The experience of these struggles further

induced him to make the German Church the main pillar of his regime.

The King's victory was partly due to an incursion of the Hungarians, which was supported by his rebel son, Liudolf. The menace rallied forces from all the tribes around the King, and in 955 he won a decisive victory over the enemy which put an end to these aggressions. The Hungarians soon became sedentary and adopted the Christian faith. The whole of Europe was thus liberated from a terrible scourge. The colonisation of the parts bordering on Hungary could be resumed and the foundations were laid for the development of Austria. All the other frontiers open to invasion were also secured by establishing fortified zones, called marches, or by making neighbour princes vassals.

In the north and east, Otto and his margraves continued the traditional Saxon policy of waging war with the Slavs. But he gave it a much higher aim than that of the previous struggles, which were often comparable to those between American frontiersmen and Red Indians. Otto harboured the plan to Christianise the whole East of Europe, to introduce there civilisation and to create fertile land out of marshes and woods. New bishoprics were founded for this purpose, Magdeburg was made the seat of an archbishop and missionary work was vigorously carried forward. Magdeburg soon became also a centre of trade with the east and colonisation, too, began, though not yet on a large scale. The Saxon warriors were used to treating the heathen Slavs in a very ruthless way. In their ideology, heathens were hardly human and had no rights. This standpoint, however, could not be maintained when ever more Slavs were converted to Christianity. They were then under the protection of the Church. Three new bishoprics were further founded for missionary work among the Danes.

An event of immense importance for the whole future was Otto's resumption of the old Carolingian policy in Italy. Conditions in this country were chaotic, magnates were competing for power, and the Papacy suffered the worst degradation in its history by a regime known as the Pornocracy. Vicious women of the Roman aristocracy made their lovers or sons Popes, who then cared more for their personal interests than for the Church. Moreover, the Saracens, Greeks and other foreign powers were striving for conquests on Italian soil. In 951 Otto intervened in these struggles. It seems that the young Queen of Lombardy, Adelaide, called him to her rescue. Furthermore he had good reason to fear that his brother, Henry of Bavaria, or his son, Liudolf of Swabia, might forestall his plans, seize the crown of Italy and then refuse further

allegiance to him. Otto, accompanied by many princes, crossed the Alps and occupied Lombardy without meeting serious resistance, was accepted as King and married Adelaide.

Ten years after his first Italian expedition Otto made his second one, called by the Pope John XII, a most unworthy head of the Church. The Pope crowned Otto Emperor (962), took an oath of allegiance to him but soon conspired with his enemies. Thereupon Otto had him deposed by a synod and elevated a new Pope, Leo VIII, who just before the ceremony had received Holy Orders. The Romans had to pledge themselves by oath not to elect a Pope without his consent. Soon, however, they elected another Pope, Benedict V, but the Emperor forced him to resign and sent him as a prisoner to Germany. He also defeated other enemies but was compelled by a plague to lead his army home. Shortly later, another new Pope was nominated by Otto, was upset by a revolt and called the Emperor to his rescue, who made a third expedition, which lasted six years (966-72). The Emperor now cast his eyes on Southern Italy, which led to war with Byzance. The conflict was ended by a marriage between the Emperor's son and a Byzantine princess, who received possessions in Southern Italy as a dowry. This son, Otto II, had already as a child been elected and crowned German King, though his father was still alive. This implied that the German crown had become hereditary.

Of the last twelve years of his reign, Otto I spent hardly more than two in Germany. Italy absorbed most of his energy. But he was content in this country with an overlordship, while the actual rule was left to Italian vassals and bishops. The Papacy was completely under the Emperor's control. This helped him also to overcome the resistance of powerful German bishops to his plans in the north-east, though the Pope did not comply with all his wishes. His power over the Papacy seemed to give him a grandiose position comparable only to that of Charlemagne. Yet this power rested on very insecure foundations. The Romans and other Italians mostly resented the domination of a foreign, and in their eyes barbaric, nation, and refused obedience as soon as the Emperor and his knights had left. Moreover, since Charlemagne's times the ideas on the relations between the spiritual and temporal powers had developed in favour of the Papacy—also in the German mind. The Emperor himself was under the influence of the spirit of Cluny, mainly through his wife Adelaide, and furthered the movement for a reform of the Church. In spite of his genuine piety, however, Otto did not claim the position of a biblical priest-king like Charlemagne.

In Germany, Otto made the Church the main pillar of his power, while Charlemagne had also tried to develop an administration by laymen as a second pillar. Charlemagne had further ruled over a kind of national Church. Otto relied mainly on the ecclesiastics under his special protection (Munt), who greatly increased. Their possessions were considered property of the Empire. The celibacy of the high ecclesiastics was an advantage, since they were not impelled to provide for descendants at the expense of the State. Many of the bishops whom Otto appointed or designated to be elected had previously served in the royal chancellery, where they had acquired experience in the art of government and had been tested in regard to their loyalty and fitness. They were primarily statesmen, and their religious functions were mostly left to co-adjutors. The royal government at that time disposed of an elite of leading men, equally distinguished by religious zeal, moral integrity and political efficiency. Otto's brother, Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne and Duke of Lotharingia, was one of the most outstanding among them; he was as great a priest and scholar as he was a statesman. Most of the bishops were of noble origin, but sometimes men of humble birth also rose to high rank, such as Willigis, who became Chancellor and Archbishop of Mayence. Chroniclers later praised the time of Otto I as that when the ideal had been realised that the wise men should be the rulers.

Otto I and his successors conferred on bishops and abbots also the powers of counts and other great privileges, such as the right of coinage, markets and tolls. The development of towns and trade was greatly furthered by the bishops, who were the rulers of the nascent townships and had a great interest in making them prosperous. The abbots of the great monasteries, on the other hand, were much richer than the bishops in landed estates, owing to the large donations of land to the monks, who had, in return, to pray for the salvation of the donors. The bishops, therefore, became the patrons of trade and the monasteries the pioneers of agricultural expansion and progress. A great proportion of the peasantry had voluntarily placed themselves under the lordship of a monastery. The alliance of royalty with the Church against feudality was certainly popular. For the King, moreover, it was also very profitable, since the Church had to provide him with most of the military and financial aid which he needed. A list of military contingents called up for a campaign has been preserved, according to which the Church had to provide seventy-one per cent. of the knights. On the other hand. Otto's reliance on the Church was perhaps partly

responsible for the fact that he omitted both legislation and the building of lasting institutions.

This Emperor was neither a great legislator and organiser like Charlemagne, nor did he share the latter's interest in theology and cultural matters. Nevertheless, learning, art and literature flourished under the reign of the Saxon Emperors. Widukind, Liudprand and later Thietmar excelled in the writing of history; the nun Hrotsvit wrote historical poems and comedies and the Bishop Bernard of Hildesheim was not only a great statesman but also much admired as a scholar, patron of art and artist. The extraordinary position of the German Church was most beneficial, and also the great powers thereby conferred on noble bishops were not a danger as long as there was a strong central authority. Friedrich Heer has recently given a learned and colourful description of the grandiose role of the imperial bishops. But in the long run Otto's attitude towards the Church had disastrous consequences, which nobody then could have anticipated.

Otto I was succeeded by his son, Otto II, who again had to struggle with most of the problems which had occupied his father, especially with repeated revolts of mighty dukes, sometimes in alliance with all the foreign enemies of the realm. His attempt to intervene in the war between Greeks and Saracens in Southern Italy led to a catastrophe. At the same time the Slavs in the newly conquered lands in the north-east rose in revolt, the Danes began to make incursions and the whole edifice of German power which the Saxon Kings had erected nearly collapsed. Otto II died in Italy only twenty-eight years old (983).

His son, Otto III, was then a child of three years, and the government was conducted by a regency in which highly cultured women played an admirable role. The Empress Theophano, Otto's mother, was an excellent ruler and soon overcame the prejudice which her Greek origin had aroused. In Italy the Empress Adelaide, grandmother of Otto III, was regent. Her daughter, Mathilda, Abbess of the Convent of Quedlinburg, also had great influence on politics and used it wisely. When Theophano died, Adelaide became president of a regency composed of great nobles and bishops and Willigis was its leading member.

In 955 Otto was 15 years old and began to govern. He had received a refined education and was inspired by exalted ideas of his imperial mission. But he had also been deeply impressed by the spirit of Cluny and was accessible to mysticism and asceticism. Later, in moments of an internal crisis, he thought of laying down the crown to become a monk or an eremite. In high politics he

regarded himself as a Roman and wanted to make Rome the centre of the Empire and to revive the institutions and the spirit of old Rome in all their grandeur. When he later invited Gerbert of Aurillac, the most learned man of the time, to become his adviser and instructor, he asked him in a letter 'unsparingly to combat the rawness of his Saxon nature and, instead, to foster and cultivate whatever he might possess of Greek refinement.' In his answer, Gerbert said it was 'a manifestation of the Divine that a man who was a Greek by birth and a Roman by his mission as a ruler should claim the treasures of Greek and Roman wisdom, so to say, as his heritage.'

In Italy, feudal violence and anti-German sentiment had widely spread, and in Rome the Papacy had again become the object of the rivalries of aristocratic factions. The moral level of the Popes had sunk to such a depth that a synod of French bishops at Rheims had called the recent Popes shameful creatures of the Antichrist and had threatened with defection from Rome. When Otto came to Italy the Pope John XV died and the Romans asked him to nominate a new Pope. He designated Bruno of Carinthia, who assumed the name Gregory V, a rigorous adherent of the Reform movement and the ideal of papal supremacy. An attempt of the Roman nobles to regain their power was suppressed with great severity. Gregory V soon died and the Emperor now appointed Gerbert, who became Pope Sylvester II. In contrast to his former attitude, when he supported the national revolt of the French Church against the Papacy, he now defended the opposite principles, as put forward in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. He possessed the greatest influence on the Emperor and seems to have used it to confirm him in his ideas of the restoration of Roman greatness. The youthful Emperor indulged in introducing a pompous court ceremonial on the model of Byzantium and in decorating himself with titles recalling those of the old Roman Emperors. He called himself Emperor of the Romans, Emperor of the World, but also Servant of the Apostles, and began to build a palace in Rome as his permanent residence. On a famous picture in a book made for Otto four nations symbolised by female figures are seen doing homage to him. First comes Rome, then follows Gaul, which meant Lotharingia, the third is Germany and the last Sclavinia, or the Slavs.

True, the Emperor's policy was not neglectful of German interests and merely guided by a fantastic romanticism as many former historians believed. It showed also realistic features, sought to secure the German position in Italy and the east of Europe and

employed Germans in high Italian posts. Otto was surrounded by very able and sober statesmen, who would not have sacrificed the traditions of the Saxon house to mere illusions. Yet the Emperor himself has made a very significant confession. In 1001 the little town of Tibur (Tivoli) revolted against him, but after a siege surrendered and was pardoned. The Romans had hoped that the Emperor would destroy the hated neighbour town and were so embittered by his clemency that they rose against him. Otto III addressed them in a speech which the learned priest, Thangmar, who was present, later wrote down. He reminded the Romans that for them he had forsaken his fatherland and family; his love had preferred them not only to his Saxons but to all Germans, and even to his own blood; he had spread Rome's power and glory to countries where even their world dominating forefathers had never set foot; he had adopted them as sons and had, by placing them before all others, aroused general jealousy and hatred against himself. The Emperor's words made such an impression that public sentiment completely veered round, and the populace now fell upon the leaders of the insurrection and nearly killed them.

Otto died in his twenty-second year, and we cannot know whether in ripper years his illusions or the realism of his statesmen would have gained the upper hand. In any case, German public opinion did not share his enthusiasm for the restoration of Roman greatness but was more or less critical of his doings. The utterances of chroniclers clearly show this. Some had religious scruples, and there were certainly discrepancies between the ideals of Cluny and those of a Roman Caesar or Byzantine Caesaropapism. The opening of Charlemagne's tomb offended popular sentiment. Others took exception to the introduction of foreign customs. Hitherto a Saxon King had taken his meals in company with his entourage, but the majesty of a Roman Emperor required that Otto should sit alone on a dais. His exalted rank also demanded that he should marry only the daughter of another emperor, and a further Greek princess was to become German Empress. Otto's admiration of foreign models gave rise to the suspicion that he regarded the Saxons as inferior, and this aroused resentment. Among the German bishops, bad blood was made by his policy towards Poland, which received full ecclesiastical independence at the expense of Magdeburg and whose vassalage was still extenuated to a status of 'friendship and alliance,' a term once used by the Roman Senate. Two chroniclers, however, approve this policy. Hungary, too, received from the Pope ecclesiastical independence, which emancipated her from the influence of German bishops. The episcopacy

was further greatly embittered by the papal policy of demanding from them strict subordination. Otto, too, was held responsible, as he had appointed the Pope and backed him. At last the German bishops under Willigis's lead were in open revolt against Rome. But also among the nobility there was a great fermentation against the Emperor, which would have led to open revolt had Otto not died suddenly (1002).

His successor and cousin, Henry II, abandoned the striving to make Rome the capital of the Empire and regarded Germany as the principal country. His predecessor had treated Germany and Italy as one realm and had been elected King in Verona by nobles of both countries. But Henry was elected at Pavia by Italians alone and later instituted also a separate Italian Chancellery. This gave Italy a certain measure of autonomy. The King was mainly occupied with long and unlucky wars against Poland that, under King Boleslav Chrobry, had entered a period of aggressive expansion, and he had also to deal with many revolts of magnates. In consequence, he could not devote much time to Italy, though he made three short expeditions there, to be crowned, to restore order and to repel aggressors.

Henry II was a sincere believer in the ideals of Cluny and the Church made him a Saint. He strove to reform the Church in co-operation with the Pope, and he tried to secure internal peace by inducing the nobles in certain regions to take an oath on the maintenance of peace. Yet, he also stressed the royal rights over the Church and treated the bishops like officials, though he appointed worthy men and increased their power and wealth partly at the expense of the monasteries. The bishops, therefore, were loyal ministers of the King, while the monks tended to set their hopes upon the Pope.

A remarkable churchman under this King was Bishop Burchard of Worms, a man of high nobility and rigorous asceticism. He issued a lawbook for his ministerials and serfs, the famous *Hofrecht*, which was the first territorial legislation and shows why the Saxon Emperors did not legislate much themselves. The prologue says that the Bishop gave the law because of the constant complaints of the poor people and the acts of violence of the nobility, to protect the weak and to establish one law for rich and poor alike. Further, he compiled a collection of ecclesiastical laws, largely inspired by Pseudo-Isidor but trying to combine loyalty to the Emperor and to the Pope. It is noteworthy that the latter law proscribes blood-revenge, while the former admits it under certain conditions. Even an enlightened churchman like Burchard could

not suppress the Germanic traditions imbuing the whole people, he could only try to mitigate them in the Christian spirit. This law-book was accepted in many other countries, too, all over Europe.

In 1023 Henry II concluded a pact aiming at an international League of Peace with Robert I of France. A council was to organise world peace, and the Church was to be reformed in the spirit of Cluny. But the majority of German bishops strongly opposed the idea that the Pope should have absolute power over them. The death of the Pope and the Emperor put an end to these plans. Under Henry II, unfree knights, the ministerials, began to appear among the court officials. This signified an important development. Hitherto the Kings had sought their main support in the high nobility, lay and ecclesiastical. But now they tried to find reliable organs among men from the lower classes. This change of policy was particularly marked under the next dynasty, the Salians. It is also significant that Henry II made five men of unfree birth bishops. For a long time the bishops had almost exclusively been chosen from the ranks of the nobles.

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THE IDEOLOGY OF THE EMPERORSHIP

THE mediaeval Emperorship founded by Charlemagne and Otto I has been in modern times the subject of endless controversies among historians which not seldom had a political background. The main question at stake was whether it was the Italian expeditions of the German kings which were responsible for the decline of the central power, the rise of particularism and the frustration of national unity in Germany. That the Italian policy was, indeed, the principal cause of this development is hardly doubtful any longer. It brought the German kings into irreconcilable conflict with the Papacy, compelled them to make fateful concessions to the power of feudalism and particularism and to disperse their forces instead of concentrating them on building a modern State and nation. The controversies mentioned saw the question mainly in the light of modern ideas of the national State, which were alien to the mediaeval kings, though rudiments of them were not entirely missing. But in this place we are not discussing the long range consequences of the Italian policy, which anyhow could not have been anticipated by those kings. We are here concerned with the motives and ideologies which formed its background.

Under the Saxon Emperors a German people or State did not yet exist. If the chronicler Widukind wishes to designate all the Germans he speaks of the Saxons and the Franks, and the Empire is to him that of the Saxons. The other German tribes he judges with great prejudice. The author of the older life of Queen Mathilda calls the Empire that of the Latins (Italians) and the Saxons. True, he also uses the word *Germania*, but this is the designation of a territory borrowed from the Roman historians, which does not imply the idea of one German people. In some writers of the ninth

and tenth centuries, however, a common name sometimes appears where the contrast to other peoples suggests this usage. The popular language is called *Teutisca*, and this word is later also extended to the people. Salzburg Annals speak of a Teutonic realm. Liudprand of Cremona names the Germans the Teutonic Franks or enumerates the various tribes. A common name, therefore, is sometimes employed, but it does not indicate a consciousness of forming one people.

While the elements which were to form the German people were not yet ripe for national unity, that of post-Roman Italy had disintegrated under the stress of events. In trade and wealth she was ahead of all the other countries, but there were deep divisions and fierce rivalries among different sections of the Italians, largely owing to her comparatively advanced phase of social evolution. This state of things naturally encouraged foreign kings to seek aggrandisement in Italy, often aided by Italian parties. National unity could have been only achieved by a king of overwhelming strength, but the Popes had a great interest in preventing the rise of a ruler to such power, since it might have depressed their own position to that of a vassal. They always tried, therefore, to maintain a balance of power in Italy in which they could have a decisive vote. But the Popes were themselves often threatened by Italian magnates and foreign aggressors. Power over the Papacy was the bone of contention between the great aristocratic houses of Rome, which used all means of violence and corruption to obtain control. Since the Popes had no great armed force of their own they were compelled to appeal to foreign rulers, especially Frankish and German kings, to come to their rescue. Many Italian princes, towns and parties, too, threatened by the fury of rivals, followed this example.

The deep cleavages among the Italians are illustrated by the chronicler Liudprand of Cremona, a Lombard and an acute observer and brilliant writer. He gives many examples of animosities among peoples of his times and of their mentalities, usually in a derogatory sense. But the Romans are to him the embodiment of all vices. The Lombards and many other peoples, he assures us, have no more contemptuous word of insult for their enemies than the word 'Roman'. He also shrewdly remarks that the Italians always wanted to have two rulers at a time in order to keep them down by the rivalry between them.

The German kings undertook their expeditions to Italy either to be crowned emperor by the Pope or to re-assert their authority or to repel foreign invaders, or to restore internal peace. Ambition, religious and financial motives, the need to employ the feudal forces

and especially the antagonism between the temporal and the spiritual power played a great role. Most expeditions were undertaken at the request of the Pope or of other Italian rulers. When the German king arrived he was often welcomed by large sections of the people as the saviour from enemies. But this sentiment frequently changed overnight to hostility. The Italians were used to regarding the king as a policeman who should protect their interests and, in particular, put down their enemies, but on the condition that his visit should not cost them much and should not last long. Yet frequently very small incidents, such as brawls between individuals, brought about riots, uprisings and ruthless suppression. The feudal host of the king was lacking in discipline and easily got out of hand. Between the Germans and the Italians there was much mutual jealousy, which often exploded.

The title of the Saxon house to the rulership of Italy (which then meant Lombardy) was sanctioned by the legal standards of the time. Otto I had acquired the crown by arms, marriage and the recognition by nobles representing the people, and his successors, moreover, were elected. But their real power was not always as strong as their title suggested. Otto I had not intended to become the direct ruler of Italy. He was content with a loose feudal overlordship, leaving the tasks of government to Italian princes and bishops. Later kings tried various ways of exercising their authority and often put German bishops or lords in important positions. The Hohenstaufen emperors were to make the attempt of directly ruling Italy. With a few exceptions, however, the power of the emperors over Italy was neither great nor continuous and very often merely a shadow. Modern romanticists have pictured the time when the emperors possessed Italy as the peak of German power and glory. But reality was often very different.

It has been argued that the German kings were more or less compelled to extend their authority over large parts of Italy in order to control the Pope, which was necessary to enable them to rule the German Church and, through the bishops, the German people. This may sometimes have been one of their motives, but the effect of this policy was obviously quite the opposite. Other realms could achieve this aim without controlling the Pope. It was largely the interference of German kings in certain parts of Italy which started the great struggle between the emperors and Popes. True, once this struggle had begun, the German kings could hardly be expected to submit to Popes who claimed the power to depose kings not obedient to them and who regarded the enormous wealth which the kings had bestowed upon their own Church for purposes of their

administration practically as the property of the Roman Church. Some historians further believe that the German kings tried to dominate Italy for reasons of finance. The Hohenstaufens, indeed, were attracted by the hope of obtaining rich revenues from the Lombard towns, and other emperors also exacted tributes. But whether before the Hohenstaufens such considerations carried great weight is doubtful.

After all the striving of mediaeval kings for the control of Lombardy is easily understandable. Had they withstood the temptation, other powers would certainly have seized parts of Italy. From the point of view of Italian nationality the emperors did not interfere too much in Italian affairs but rather too little. A strong resident king on the model of the Normans might have ruthlessly welded together the recalcitrant towns and principalities and thereby laid the foundations of Italian unity. But the German king was far away, he appeared only seldom in Italy and, on the whole, left the country to the rule of Italian and German bishops and magnates. Boehmer has calculated that in the two hundred and sixty-one years from Otto I's accession to the death of Henry VI, twenty-nine expeditions were made, which took fifty-five years. On the average, therefore the emperor appeared in Italy every seventh year and stayed less than two years. But there were much longer intervals, too, for example such of twenty-six and sixteen years, and it was these which contributed most to the weakening of the Emperor's authority in Italy. As regards the development of German particularism, however, the struggle for Lombardy was of much less importance than the struggle for Rome and Sicily. It was the latter which brought about the great conflict with the Papacy which was so disastrous for German national unity. The Popes might have put up with a not very strict German overlordship over Lombardy, but they could not tolerate a foreign control over Rome and Southern Italy. True, a strong position in Lombardy would in any case have stimulated the ambition for aggrandisement farther south. Yet the striving for the imperial crown, which could be obtained in Rome only, much aggravated the risk of a conflict with the Popes.

Why did the coronation in Rome then exercise such a magical attraction on the German kings? What powers did it add to their might? And what was the empire which they were supposed to rule? The more this question has been studied the more it became clear that the idea of the emperorship showed many sides and was fluid. Like other great historical ideologies it aroused the imagina-

tion of very different parties, of which each tried to use it for its purposes.

The simplest interpretation of the term emperor was that of a king over several peoples or of great might. In the old Germanic tradition a king was elected by his people, he was respected because of his descent but had little power of his own. Feudalism restricted it even more. But the word emperor evoked the memory of the Roman dictators who wielded absolute power and claimed to possess a world-wide authority. The Franks had always prided themselves on being cousins to the Romans, both being descendants of mythical Trojan heroes. The designation of emperor was, therefore, a much coveted title, which was assumed by many kings who had come to rule over several peoples and wanted to stress how exalted their position was. Anglo-Saxon, Spanish, Italian, Scandinavian and Balkan rulers and others have, at times, made use of it.

Charlemagne regarded himself as the head of the State and the Church, which were to him only different aspects of the same community. His rule had, therefore, a theocratic character, and he was compared to the priest-kings of the Old Testament. But to the scholars around him he appeared also as the successor of the Roman World Emperors. Yet Charles did not claim supremacy over the Byzantine Emperor but was content with being of equal rank. In relations with the Pope, however, he acted as the superior. The Pope obviously was only the first bishop of the empire, but the master of all the bishops was the emperor. Later kings followed Charlemagne's example when they asserted their supremacy over the Pope, but they, too, recognised the Byzantine Emperor as an equal and were even long chary in calling themselves Roman emperors in order not to offend him.

Another variety of the theocratic idea was proclaimed by the Popes. In the fifth century already the Pope Gelasius had put forward the doctrine of the two swords. God had entrusted the spiritual sword to the Pope and the temporal to the emperor, which meant that the latter was to be the highest secular authority called to defend Christianity. This doctrine later appeared in different forms. The Papalists asserted that God had given both swords to the Pope, who then handed the secular one to the emperor, which let the latter appear as his vassal. The Imperialists, however, maintained that the emperor, too, had his power directly from God. In the Papal view the emperor was the executive officer of the Pope. Later Popes further claimed also the right of confirming or vetoing the election of a German king destined to become emperor.

Besides the theocratic ideas there was also the doctrine of the

emperor being the successor of the old Roman emperors, who had received supreme powers from the Roman people. It had, however, also a religious sanction, since passages of the Bible were interpreted as a prediction that the Roman Empire would subsist till the advent of the Antichrist shortly before the Last Judgment. Papal theologians further invented the story of the Constantine Donation and the Translation of the Empire, which, too, made the emperor appear as the vassal of the Pope. Apart from these ecclesiastical versions, the idea identifying the empire with the old Roman Empire existed also in a secular form. Many Romans of great influence always claimed that it was the Roman people which were entitled to elect an emperor, or at least to accept him by acclamation. The word people meant mainly the nobles, who were divided into factions possessing numerous followers among the other classes, too. Many emperors had to make great financial and other concessions to them in order to secure their allegiance. Since the end of the eleventh century the study of the Roman law took a great rise in Italy and its spirit stimulated the idea of the universal power of the Roman emperors. Great Italian jurists defended the rights of the emperors. When Italian nationalism awoke, its spokesmen set ardent hopes on the German kings, whom they implored to renew the world power and splendour of the old Roman emperors.

Both the Papal and the Italian idea of the emperorship implied universalism. As the Popes claimed power over all Christians, and the mission to convert all heathens, too, so also their executive organ, the emperor, had to possess a universal authority. The Italian variety, also, stood for a world-wide empire on the old Roman model, though perhaps within its limits. But there was also a Germanic idea of the emperorship whose defenders looked askance at the other kinds. In their view the imperial crown was won by great victories. It was not the Pope or the Romans who had given victory to the Germans over the Hungarians and others, but God and their own valour. The Saxon chronicler Widukind expresses this view. The coronations of Otto I and Charlemagne in Rome by the Pope are ignored by him. It was the army which acclaimed Otto after his great victory as Emperor, following thereby the example of the Romans. This view did not imply universalism. It regarded only those peoples as subject to the emperor which he dominated on the ground of just titles. But it seemed natural to the Germanic mind that the most powerful ruler should also have the place of honour among all the kings and the hegemony in common enterprises.

Lastly, the emperorship was also advocated on the ground of internationalism and pacifism. Dante was to demand an emperor as the supreme international authority, as guardian and defender of international peace and justice.

All these views of the nature of the emperorship gave this dignity great lustre and exalted its powers. Official and unofficial records frequently speak of world domination or imply it. But closer research has shown that this was mainly a ceremonial usage designed to express the claim to the first rank among the kings, which was also generally recognised by them. In certain poems addressed to the emperor, mainly by Italians, it was a form of flattery for which the writer expected a reward. If the actual policy of the emperors is studied, one finds that they differed in the amount of ambition but that, on the whole, they restricted themselves to certain traditional aims, which may sometimes have been too great for their actual power but were far removed from world domination. The only exception was Henry VI, who thought of great new conquests, but he died before he could begin this venture. Most of the emperors were not dreamers but realists who knew that their military and financial means were hardly sufficient to secure them Germany and Italy. Already in Burgundy their overlordship was merely nominal, and at times also other parts of the Empire were practically independent. The vassals were only obliged to serve the king for a short time within Germany to repel invaders and put down rebels; in addition they had to accompany him on his ceremonial progress to the coronation in Rome. But otherwise they were not obliged to wage war for him in foreign lands. He might, however, call up the ministerials on his domains or on those of the Churches under his protection, hire mercenaries or try to win the aid of princes by special concessions.

The emperors had to reckon with public opinion or the attitude of those who had influence on politics. The great mass of the people had, of course, neither a voice nor any interest in questions of high politics. To the Italian expeditions they were certainly indifferent. In one regard, however, the king had also to give attention to the opinions of the common man. The latter was much under the influence of the clergy, especially the monks, and this was one of the reasons why the kings did their best to avoid serious conflict with the Church.

Public opinion then meant chiefly the views and the aspirations of the nobility and the clergy. The main burden of the Italian expeditions fell on the German Church. The 'national' party among the bishops regarded the Papacy with great mistrust, though some

were interested in the possibility of reforming it or in getting rich Italian bishoprics for themselves, which required the consent of the Pope. But the ardent Papalists judged any action of the emperor in regard to Italy according to whether the Pope was for or against it. The bishops further increasingly obtained the money to equip their contingents from the towns developing under their rule. But the Italian expeditions were hardly popular with the nascent burgher classes, who understood how to reckon and were likely to sympathise with the towns of Lombardy. The ministerials of the bishops were a warlike class. The monks were influenced by the ideas of Cluny and a great proportion of them were outspoken Papalists.

Among the knights a proportion must have welcomed the opportunity of adventures or a good career in Italy. But even in this class the enthusiasm does not seem to have been so great and widespread as we should think. This can be concluded from the fact that the armies which the emperors led to Italy were usually small and largely consisted of legally unfree ministerials, who were obliged to serve. The figures of the number of knights given by the chroniclers are usually greatly exaggerated, as can be concluded from the strategy employed and its poor results. If there had been a general enthusiasm, the armies would have been swelled by volunteers. The crusades later were a much greater attraction and the number of knights who then joined the ranks was considerably larger.

As regards the attitude of the great nobles to the Italian expeditions, it was obviously shaped by their particular interests and varied according to their relations to the king. As a rule the number of princes taking part in an Italian campaign was not great, and there are examples that they tried to dissuade the king from beginning or continuing one. This does not mean, of course, that they were in principle opposed to the striving to dominate parts of Italy or to commitments implied in the dignity of the emperorship. The splendour of the imperial position and the power over Rome and Italy certainly awakened a sort of national pride in the minds of many nobles, bishops and knights. The Italian policy may, therefore, have contributed to the development of a feeling of a common nationality in certain classes. But this was counteracted by the fact that this policy greatly furthered the rise of particularism, which eventually cramped the evolution of German nationhood.

Prominent historians, such as Sybel, Maurenbrecher and Prutz, ascribed the frequent revolts of German nobles to the alleged fact

that they regarded the Italian policy as contrary to German interests. These risings were, however, probably more inspired by personal ambitions than by patriotic reasons. Nevertheless, the view that the Italian policy was not very popular is by no means improbable, even if there was no vocal opposition. The foundation of modern research in the history of the mediaeval emperors was laid in the classical work of Giesebrecht, which began to appear almost a hundred years ago. It was inspired by enthusiasm for the greatness of the old emperors and based on enormous learning. Yet, Giesebrecht later came to the conclusion that the mediaeval Germans seem to have had a vague feeling that the imperial crown was not wholly compatible with the national spirit. The expeditions to Rome, he continues, were certainly not congenial to the common man.

The sparse comments of the chronicles show that the actions of the emperors often aroused different feelings. Widukind already, though very proud of the deeds of Otto I, shows also a critical attitude and sometimes sympathises with his adversaries. He dwells on Otto's long struggles with the Slavs and Hungarians but says little or nothing on his Italian exploits or his coronation by the Pope. He pretends that the description of the Italian policy was beyond his ability, but the real cause was probably that Italy had no great interest for the Saxons. In spite of Widukind's pride in the pre-eminence of the Saxons in the world, he suggests also that the expansion of the empire has perhaps gone too far. Beumann has recently analysed this ideology. He points out that Widukind was strongly influenced by Anglo-Saxon writers and his idea of emperorship was the Germanic and hegemonial one. He was primarily a Saxon patriot, though he admits that Charlemagne, by making the Saxons Christians, had, so to say, fused them with the Franks into one people, namely the Christian one. While the Franks stressed their alleged relationship with the Romans, the Saxons are traced back by Widukind to the Greeks. But their rise to power was due to the translation of the relics of St. Vitus to Saxony. Widukind shows no hostility to the Slavs and obviously sympathises with their struggle for freedom. In the later course of his chronicle he cannot ignore Otto II's coronation by the Pope, but he tries to minimise its importance by calling it a designation. He also calls Otto I Roman Emperor but thinks that this means the rule over the city of Rome, not over the former Empire.

One of the most important sources for the reign of the Saxon house is Thietmar's chronicle. In a versified dedication to his brother he very briefly pays the conventional homage to the Saxon

emperors, who have elevated Germany to the first rank among the realms, but also warns against any striving for worldly glory. His relation shows a rather critical attitude to the imperial policy, which can often be read between the lines. All the Italian expeditions, which occupied such a great part of the energy of the emperors, are dismissed very briefly, and the emperors receive hardly any praise for them. It was certainly not ignorance, as he pretends, which caused this treatment. Thietmar came from a very noble Saxon family related to the emperors and princely houses. He must have heard more about the Italian events or could easily have obtained any information. But he was obviously not interested. Instead, he describes in great detail the struggles with the Slavs on the Elbe, the Bohemians, Poles and Hungarians and, in particular, ecclesiastical affairs. His outlook is a clerical one and his book full of visions, dreams and portents. He remarks that under Otto I and his son there were revolts and little security and quietness. This he traces to a sin committed by Otto's father, Henry I, who, instigated by the devil and being heavily drunk, had forced the Queen to sleep with him on Good Friday. In this way Otto was begotten. He also regards it as a great sin that Otto had deposed and banished the Pope Benedict V, who had been elected by the Romans without his permission. God punished him for it by smiting his army with a pestilence, which cost countless lives. Otto II is bitterly blamed for the abolition of the bishopric Merseburg. Thietmar prays to God not to punish him for his sin. The foundation of the archbishopric Gnesen by Otto III and the favours granted by him to the Duke of Poland are equally odious to Thietmar. May God forgive him! But also Otto III's adoption of Roman customs displeases Thietmar. In spite of his clericalism he remarks that the ecclesiastical judges at the Papal court are so venal that they have a price for everything. On Italy and the Italians he says that the climate of this country and the character of its inhabitants do not agree with the nature of his countrymen. Cunning and treachery are rampant in Rome and Lombardy. Foreigners find little love. They must pay for everything in cash and there is always the risk of being cheated. Many also pass away through poison administered by the Italians. A man of these opinions could hardly be expected to approve the Italian policy of the emperors.

If Thietmar found that the climate of Italy did not agree with the Saxon nature, he meant the epidemics, in particular malaria. Time and again thousands of knights and others were struck down by a pestilence, and many of them died within a few days, while those who survived were long too weak to fight. One of the great-

est difficulties for the Italian policy of the emperors was, indeed, the climate, as Celli's studies have shown. The passes over the Alps were usually snowbound between the end of September and the middle of May and formed a great obstacle to a host of knights. The roads were frightful and food and fodder lacking. But between mid June and mid September a siege of Rome was most dangerous because of malaria.

Quite a number of German kings died of diseases certainly or probably acquired in Italy. Otto II, Otto III, Henry VI, Frederick II, Conrad IV and Henry VII ended their life on Italian soil. Conrad II had to withdraw from Italy because a disease had destroyed the greater part of his army, and he died less than a year later in Germany. Also his son, Henry III, died soon after his return from Italy, and Lothar III on his way back from there. Many of the nearest relatives of the kings, princes and statesmen were also carried off by epidemics. The German kings, with a few exceptions, did not grow old, owing to various causes. Aloys Schulte has calculated that over a long period a French king reigned on the average twenty-eight years and a German king only nineteen. The relative shortness of the reigns had the disadvantage that most kings could not sufficiently consolidate their power by creating stable institutions and traditions. But also the dynasties changed more frequently in Germany than in other countries. France was for more than seven hundred years under the same dynasty, the Capetings and their off-shoots, while in Germany there was a succession of many dynasties, though they were mostly inter-related in the female line. This, too, worked against the rise of a stable and strong monarchy. An argument very frequently put forward by critics of the Italian policy is that it deflected the German forces from the natural area of German expansion, namely the north-east, or at least weakened the forces available for this purpose. Brackmann, however, has shown that the Saxon emperors also went to Rome in order to win the support of the Popes for their plans of missionary activities and expansion in the east. Schuenemann further has pointed out that the German kings actually devoted much more energy and forces to expeditions to the east than to their Italian campaigns, but that the eastern policy had only very poor results because of natural difficulties, which could only be mastered in a much later time.

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THE FIRST GREAT CONFLICT WITH THE PAPACY

THE male line of the Saxon house died out with Henry II in 1024, and a Franconian noble, Conrad, was elected, who in the female line was related to the previous dynasty. In this way the principles of both election and heredity were combined. The new dynasty is known as the Salian. King Conrad II (1024-39), though pious in the usual way was alien to the religious enthusiasm of the Reformers and to higher culture; he was an outspoken lay character, an energetic, clever and ruthless realist, who, in many ways, tried to obtain the support of the middle and lower classes as a counterweight to the high nobility and the Papalists.

His court chaplain, Wipo, in his biography of the King, has painted him as the defender of the rights of the people. In his description of Conrad's election he emphasises that the King was chosen by the majority of the people on the counsel of the bishops and princes, and that not only the bishops, princes, nobles and knights took the oath of allegiance but also all the freemen of some substance. During the procession to the coronation the King was stopped by a serf, an orphan and a widow, and later by an exile from his homeland, who complained about oppression. Several princes wanted to prevent Conrad from hearing these people on the ground that the coronation must not be delayed. But the King replied that it was his duty to administer justice at once. At the coronation banquet, too, he heard the complaints of many poor and settled their cases. Wipo says the maintenance of justice is the same as governing. The King won the knights by making hereditary the fiefs which already their parents had possessed, and by frequent gifts he inflamed them to bold deeds. His generosity, affability and kindness towards his subjects, but also his ruthless

energy against high-born evildoers, made him so popular that everybody agreed no King had been worthier of the throne since Charlemagne. True, he once gave the bishopric of Basle to a noble candidate for a high amount of money but later repented and pledged himself never again to take money for a bishopric or abbey—a pledge which, as Wipo adds, he kept ‘almost always’.

Conrad had often to wage war, though he was not an aggressor and was content with maintaining his legitimate rights. The Kingdom of Burgundy was acquired on ground of a claim to succession, yet relations with France remained friendly. Poland and Bohemia recognised the King as their overlord. Italy was agitated by strife between the higher nobles and bishops and the knights as well as by the striving for independence. The King secured the rights of the Empire, acted as arbiter between the parties and gave the knights hereditary rights in Italy, too. He had himself been a small lord only, and as King he followed the policy of favouring the minor feudals against the magnates and employing unfree knights in his service. In a conflict between Saxons and heathen Slavs the King ordered that an ordeal of battle be held to find out who was in the right. The Slav champion defeated the Saxon and this decided the matter. In judicial decisions Conrad applied the law of his tutor, Burchard of Worms. Feudal violence was put down, trade in consequence prospered and the towns received valuable privileges. When it became known that an ecclesiastical lord had sold some of his serfs, Conrad sent an edict to several princes of the region condemning the selling of human beings like brute cattle as odious to God and man. He ordered them, should the serfs be found, to hand them over to the bishop of the place and, if necessary, to apply legal force. This case shows that the Emperor treated the princes like officials. But he did not try to deprive them of their rights, though he gave two escheated duchies to his son. Conrad restored many rights alienated to the Crown. He asserted full authority over the Church and nominated and deposed bishops. His attitude in questions of the Church was mainly determined by the interests of his government.

His son and successor, Henry III (1039-56) was the hope of the Reform Party, which sought to liberate the Church from worldliness and the power of governments and feudalism. The King had received an excellent education owing to his mother and the Bishop Brun of Augsburg. He was versed in the law, theology and letters, loved books, art and music, and had a deep sense of religion and morality. Wipo wrote for him his Proverbs, in which among the virtues of a king justice, peaceableness and mildness were particu-

larly stressed. In another tract he exhorted the King to issue a law prescribing that everybody, or at least every wealthy man, should have his sons instructed in letters and the law to make them fit for public life. In Italy the whole youth was sent to school, while the Germans regarded education as ignominious except for clergymen. The King certainly agreed with this opinion but he had not the power to change deep-rooted traditions. Most of all he yearned for peace, but he was, nevertheless, involved in many wars which, however, effected no great changes. Internal peace, too, was often troubled, especially in Lotharingia, and the French King nearly invaded this land, which he considered to belong to his realm. Henry tried to inspire his nobles with a truly Christian zeal by holding great assemblies, where he solemnly declared that he forgave all his enemies and in moving words appealed to those present to keep the peace. Yet he achieved no lasting result. Other means, too, were used to appease the truculent feudals. The King gave three escheated duchies out of his hands again, but two of the new dukes, Conrad of Bavaria and Welf III of Carinthia, were soon to become rebels. He further continued the policy of employing low-born men and encouraging the burghers of the towns. This, too, was galling to many nobles.

Unlike his father, Henry put his idea of a reformed Church above the traditional aims of government and thereby started a revolution. Already under his predecessors the ideals of Cluny and the Lorraine reformers had been propagated in Germany by a number of outstanding churchmen, and the Kings had supported them. But gradually the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals with their claim to the supremacy of the spiritual power gained ever more ground. Significant was the attitude of Bishop Wazo of Liege, who was equally prominent as priest, scholar, friend of the people and statesman. He told King Henry that the bishops owed him fidelity but obedience to the Pope. On another occasion he declared to him that the office of a priest was as exalted over that of a king as was life over death, alluding hereby to the King's duty of wielding the sword. When a French bishop asked Wazo whether a heretic movement should be suppressed by force, he replied that this would be against the Christian spirit. Priests had not received the temporal sword and had not to take life but to give it.

King Henry began with suppressing the paying of fees by prelates at their appointments, which usage the Reformers branded as simony. He further undertook to cleanse the Papacy from corruption, had three rival Popes deposed by a synod and successively placed four worthy German bishops on the Papal throne. Most

important was his decision to elevate his cousin, Bruno of Toul, who as Pope called himself Leo IX. This Pope was a noble-minded and imposing personality, who surrounded himself with radical reformers such as the Cardinals Humbert and Hildebrand. He made many journeys to other countries and in fiery allocutions to the people enflamed enthusiasm for his aims.

The King's policy towards the Church aroused not only great discontent among many nobles but also opposition among the bishops, whose leader was Bishop Gebhard, the Emperor's Chancellor. They disliked the striving of the Reformers for unlimited papal power over them. On the other hand, the Reformers disapproved of Henry's interference in the appointment of Popes and bishops. When Leo IX died, Gebhard became Pope under the name Victor II. He was a moderate reformer, and the Emperor made him also governor of Italy. Soon after, Henry III died, not yet forty years old. In the second half of his reign he had often been sick. Ill-feeling and unrest had widely spread in the Empire and the storm was already brewing which was to break under his successor. Various stories discrediting the Emperor's character and connected with the names of the radical reformers Humbert and Hildebrand have come down to us. They seem to have been spread as propaganda in the later struggle against his successor. On the other hand, we possess poems by an Italian mourning the deaths of Henry III and Leo IX and expressing enthusiasm for the former's successor, then a child. The writer paints a dazzling picture of the young King's world domination. France, Britain and Spain will be subject to him and the times of Caesar and Charlemagne will return. This was surely not the aim of the Salian Emperors, but it illustrates the hopes which Italian nationalists set on them. Spanish legendary traditions, discussed by Steindorff, show that the rise of German power under the Salian Emperors aroused anxieties abroad.

Three years before Henry III died he had induced the princes to elect his son, Henry, then three years old, his successor, and the princes had promised to be faithful to him under the condition that he would be a just ruler. This was a symptom of their distrust and discontent caused by the policy of the Salian Kings. A regency under the Empress Agnes took over the government. Agnes was imbued with the ideals of the Reformers and yearned to withdraw from the world. The royal power, therefore, became the bone of contention between ambitious bishops and princes, and in 1062 the Archbishop Anno of Cologne seized power by abducting the boy Henry and the royal insignia. The Empress submitted and became a nun in an Italian convent. Owing to these internal struggles the

conduct of policy often wavered and changed, Italy was left to herself and the Reform Party in Rome could gather the forces to open the struggle for supreme power. This party comprised various groups which were united in their striving for the liberty of the Church from the secular power, in the condemnation of simony and the demand for strict celibacy of all priests. But views differed in regard to the relations with the secular governments. There was a conciliatory section headed by the saintly and learned Petrus Damiani, the head of the cardinals, who believed that the King and Emperor also had a certain sacred character, and wanted to remain in good relations with him. A more radical group, in which Lorrainers were conspicuous, was led by the Cardinals Humbert and Hildebrand, who understood by the liberty of the Church her practical supremacy and who were ready to use force and to call up revolutionary masses against kings disobedient to the Pope.

Humbert had already shown his mettle in 1054 when he was sent on a mission to Constantinople to negotiate a reconciliation with the Greek Church but instead had brought about a definite breach. Three years later he wrote a book against the Simoniacs. Simony meant the traffic in religious offices, but Humbert greatly extended the concept by including both the designation and the investiture of a prelate by a layman, such as a prince or noble, and the co-operation of an archbishop in such an act, irrespective of whether money was paid for it. As a rule, however, the prelate received his office on the traditional condition that he paid an amount from the returns of the property connected with his office. Actually, the kings and princes had endowed the Church with enormous possessions subject to the tacit obligation of contributing to the expenses of the government. Nobles, too, had made great donations, partly for spiritual reasons, partly to provide for members of their family in need of care. The practice was further based on the Germanic idea of a church, abbey, etc., belonging to the owner of the land on which it was built. But Humbert regarded the status of a prelate invested by a layman as invalid and, by consequence, every religious act of his also. The archbishops were to be placed under the effective control of the Pope. A bishop was to be elected by the clergy and the people of every order, and then the prince might consent to the election. But when the prince's will was decisive the clergy tried to curry favour with him in order to obtain a profitable post. Humbert particularly charges the Saxon dynasty with having introduced the horrible crime of simony. He forgets, however, that the Saxon Emperors had also lifted the Papacy from the most disgraceful corruption to a very high level

and had nominated bishops shining with Christian virtues. Lastly, Humbert declared that if the leaders of the Church neglected their duty to suppress such abuses, princes and faithful laymen must take the necessary measures, and should these, too, fail, then the people must act. In the Church the priesthood is the soul, while royalty may be compared to the body, which must obey the soul. It is clear that Humbert's ideas had revolutionary implications, both in claiming for the Church the full property of the possessions bestowed on her under customary reservations and in calling on laymen and the people to effect a reform of the Church. Almost five hundred years later Luther was to put forward similar demands, but for an aim opposite to that of Humbert.

Humbert's tract was the stormy petrel of the great battle in which Germany's fate was hammered out. It was one of those conflicts which were unavoidable. Neither the Pope nor the Emperor could recognise the essential claims of the adversary. A compromise was extremely difficult to reach because the idea of a separation of politics and religion was alien to the public mind.

The cause of the Reformers soon made great progress. In 1059 the Lateran Synod, attended almost exclusively by Italian bishops, condemned the marriage of priests, lay investiture and simony, confirmed the dogma of Transubstantiation and reformed the procedure in electing a Pope, placing the decisive power in the hands of the cardinals, in particular the higher section of them. This made a small élite comprising the leaders of the Reform Party the real electors. The clergy and people retained only the right of acclamation. A clause recognised in a non-committal way the Emperor's right of consent. The reform was mainly directed against the power of making a Pope hitherto arrogated by the Roman aristocracy, but it also began to undermine the traditional rights of the Emperor.

In the same year the Pope Nicholas II, a tool of Humbert and Hildebrand, recognised the conquests of the Normans in Southern Italy, who in turn paid him homage as their lord and put down his enemies. Three years before, a movement had broken out in Milan known as the Pataria. The lower class under the leadership of the brothers Landulf and Erlimbald, who sprang from the high nobility, rose against the prelates and the wealthy classes, raising the slogans of the Reformers. The uprising had also the character of a revolt of the lower Italian population against the aristocracy, which comprised a strong German element. The agitation and riots lasted almost twenty years. Later parts also of the upper classes

joined the movement, but in addition Communist tendencies emerged.

In 1061 both Pope Nicholas and Cardinal Humbert died, and now Hildebrand became the power behind the Papal throne. He was a man from the people, had an unprepossessing appearance and was not greatly versed in the Fathers, though he knew the Bible well. His mind was imbued with intense religious fervour and it embraced strange contradictions. The entire Gospel, he declared, was contained in the words Humility and Charity. He warned against pride and the striving for power. Love was above everything. It was better to help the miserable and oppressed than to pray, fast and hold vigils. Love of a neighbour was love of God. Hildebrand particularly praised peace as the daughter of love and justice. On the other hand he claimed for his office an immense power, which was to be used to achieve justice also by other than spiritual means, and he had much knowledge of, and interest in, military, financial and diplomatic matters. A favourite quotation of his was Jeremiah's sentence: 'Cursed is he who withholds his sword from blood', though he usually added that he meant it in a spiritual sense. His intimate friend, Petrus Damiani, in a letter to him, characterised him as a 'Saint Satan, a cajoling tyrant who always expressed pity with the tenderness of a Nero, who caressed with boxes on the ear and fondled, so to say, with the claw of an eagle'. In a couplet, Damiani said, Hildebrand wanted to make the Pope the master in order that the Pope should make him God.

In 1061 the Reformers elected the Pope Alexander II. Hildebrand arranged this by means of a tumultuous pressure of the people contrary to the new statute concerning the election of a Pope. The Roman aristocracy had previously asked the German Regency to appoint a Pope. Now the bishops of Lombardy elected a rival Pope, Honorius II, who at first seemed to obtain the upper hand. But the Regency did nothing for him. Archbishop Anno of Cologne, who just at that time had seized power by abducting the boy King, sympathised with the Reformers. He appeared in Italy with many German bishops and princes, and they attended the Synod of Mantua, where Alexander was recognised and Honorius banned. This event shows that the German princes had no interest in the rights of the Empire in Italy, which were at stake.

Under Hildebrand's guidance, Pope Alexander II made a policy of extending the papal power in many countries. German archbishops and bishops were summoned to appear in Rome to justify themselves against charge of simony, etc. Henry's wish to divorce his wife was rejected. Five counsellors of the King were put under

the ban for alleged simony. William the Conqueror landed in England with a banner consecrated by Pope Alexander, and Hildebrand later used this to claim that England was a vassal of the Pope.

During the long minority of Henry IV the great nobles had used the opportunity for enlarging their possessions at the expense of the royal domains. When, therefore, in 1065 Henry came of age, he soon began to reclaim the estates alienated and planned to make his Saxon domains the mainstay of his power and to erect on them strongholds. The King was surrounded by low-born Swabian knights, or 'ministerials,' who served him as advisers and executive organs. The fact that these, who legally were not even freemen, had more influence than the nobles and exercised powers of government, and particularly the ruthless way in which they sometimes behaved, aroused great unrest. The procedure of the King against a mighty noble, Otto of Nordheim, led to a number of revolts, which were joined by groups of Saxon and South German nobles and also by the Saxon peasantry, who were largely free. The grievances were that the King had confiscated estates of the nobles and tried to expand his domains; that he built castles manned with Swabian knights and, for this purpose, laid heavy burdens on the people; that he had violated Saxon law and exacted fees for the use of the forests and commons. The insurrection showed the feature of a Saxon nationalism. Nobles and bishops were the leaders but, as Lambert of Hersfeld relates, the uprising was backed by the entire people of every rank, profession and age, who were seized by a sort of madness and took the oath either to win back their liberty by arms or to die. There was a wild rumour that the King wanted to confiscate all Saxon property for his treasury and even to exterminate the Saxons and to settle Swabians in their stead.

Henry IV was hard pressed, and there was even a plan of deposing him. In this situation the burghers of Worms took his side. They expelled the bishop ruling over them and opened their gates to the King. It was probable that other Rhenish towns would follow this example. The bishops took fright and wanted the civil war to end. The Archbishops of Mayence and Cologne mediated and peace was restored, though on conditions rather unfavourable for Henry. He thanked the burghers of Worms by granting 'the Jews and other people of Worms' freedom from tolls. The Saxon peasants, however, revolted again, and in this act they desecrated a church and graveyard. This induced many princes and bishops to join the King, who now won a full victory.

During these troubles, which lasted five years, Pope Alexander

died (1073). A crowd of Romans instigated by the Cardinal Hugo Candidus rushed into the Lateran and, in a great tumult, elevated Hildebrand. The cardinals subsequently elected him Pope. Gregory VII, as he called himself, at once vigorously took up the full realisation of his programme. Some of its religious points had already obtained very wide support, but he now undertook also a policy which far exceeded the sphere of religion. His plan of world domination was laid down in a famous document of 1075 which he had compiled from various sources for his own use. In its twenty-seven points Pope put forward the claim to unlimited power over Church and State. In particular the Pope alone was to have the right to depose bishops and to transfer them, to issue new laws for the Church and to alter her structure, to wear imperial insignia, to have his feet kissed by all princes, to depose emperors and to release subjects from their oaths of allegiance, to be exempt from every jurisdiction and to act as the supreme authority. He alone was infallible and holy. In a council his legate was above every bishop and could depose everyone. The Roman Church never erred, nor will she ever err. The points mentioned leave no doubt that the 'Roman Church' meant the Pope. The same claims were raised, however, also in letters and declarations of Gregory VII. He declared, for example, that Christ had subjected all realms, powers and everything else to St. Peter, whose successor was the Pope. Moreover, Gregory asserted specific titles, too, to most European countries, claiming them as papal fiefs. The facts adduced as proofs were invariably wrong, though the Pope may have regarded them as true. Historical criticism was then undeveloped. Gregory's martial mind, nurtured more on the Old Testament than on the Gospels, manifested itself in many facts. He planned to start a great crusade against the Saracens and thereby to achieve the union of the Byzantine Church with that of Rome. To this end the Pope wanted to lead the expedition himself and to leave the task of guarding and defending the Church in his absence to the Emperor. But the plan did not succeed. At the same time Gregory also made a furious attack on Philip I of France, who was in fact not a good king. In letters to the French bishops and to the chancellor, Archbishop Manasseh of Rheims, he called the King a wicked tyrant polluted with vice and crime, adultery, rape, perjury and fraud, a rapacious wolf, an enemy of God, etc. He commanded the French chancellor to excommunicate the King and to place the whole of France under an interdict. If Philip I did not recover his senses the archbishop should let him be in no doubt that the Pope would attempt by every possible means to tear the Kingdom of France from his hold. But

should Manasseh be lukewarm, he would be himself deposed. The immediate cause of this outburst appears to have been financial grievances of Italian merchants, who had come to a fair in France and had been somehow deprived of money by the King. Gregory later actually suspended six French archbishops and deposed Manasseh. The King was banned by Gregory's successor and had to humiliate himself.

For a few years Gregory VII and Henry IV, in spite of friction, showed the wish to avoid conflicts. But they were both tied to principles which sooner or later were bound to clash. The Pope wanted to make the episcopate of the Empire his tools, but the archbishops and bishops were the principal pillars of the State. Gregory first set out to enforce measures against simony and the marriage of priests in Germany and summoned German bishops to appear before him. This evoked resistance, but the question was at last settled. The struggles in Milan owing to the Pataria, however, brought about a great conflict. Both the Pope and the Emperor claimed the right to nominate bishops in Lombardy. The Pope admonished the King to obedience and threatened him with excommunication. Henry took up the challenge. He convoked a synod at Worms, which was attended by the majority of the German episcopate. The Cardinal Hugo Candidus, who had helped Gregory to become Pope, had deserted him and had been deposed. He appeared in Worms and before the assembly charged Gregory with gross immorality. The bishops thereupon declared that 'Hildebrand, not Pope but false monk' was not the head of the Church, the King confirmed this and the Lombard bishops, too, gave their assent. Gregory VII answered by banning and deposing Henry and released his people from the oath of allegiance sworn to the King. Most German bishops, however, continued to back him. Both Henry and Gregory still wished to come to an understanding and the King was ready to promise the Pope obedience and to do penance.

The German princes, however, wanted to get rid of the King and resolved that should he not get absolution from the Pope within a year he should be considered deposed. Moreover, they asked the Pope to come to a Reichstag in Germany and to decide the case. But Henry cleverly foiled this plan by hurrying to Italy, where at Canossa he humiliated himself before Gregory. By the mediation of the Abbot of Cluny and others the reluctant Pope was induced to grant Henry absolution (1077). He did not, however, retract his deposition of the King and reserved his right to come to Germany and there to settle the question. The princes now showed that their objection to the rule of an excommunicated King was

only a pretext and elected Rudolph of Swabia King without any regard for the principle of heredity. Rudolph had the clerical reformers behind him and renounced the right of investiture.

Civil war broke out again. The King had the support of sections of the bishops and the lower nobility, but his main strength lay in the sympathies of the towns and peasants, who enabled him to raise armies from their ranks. A part of the lower clergy, too, joined his party from opposition to celibacy. The princes were backed by the higher nobles and by many bishops and their knights. The Saxon people, too, rose against the King. The papal party was further greatly strengthened by the rapid spreading of a new monastic movement. In the last hundred years the number of monasteries had increased from one hundred and eight to over seven hundred, and while formerly almost all had been under royal protection the new foundations mostly belonged to nobles. They had endowed them with the intention of having monks to pray for their souls, but also of having in the abbey a worthy burial place for their family and a haven of refuge for old and invalid relatives or unmarried daughters. Furthermore, the monks were also valuable experts in bringing into cultivation virgin forests, swamps and mountainous ground. The new abbeys predominantly favoured the Reform movement, and the development of the investiture contest rendered them ardent Gregorians. Many of the noble owners gave up their proprietary rights, which in the course of time shrank to church patronage. The ideas of Cluny and Gorze inspired Wilhelm, Abbot of Hirsau in the Black Forest, a man of great learning and religious zeal. In 1075 he received from Henry IV a privilege which became the model for many Reform abbeys. He further created a network of religious fraternities for the people, which became a mighty weapon of the Gregorians in their struggle against Henry IV. The monks of Hirsau made propaganda as wandering preachers.

In the civil war Gregory himself for a time remained neutral. But at last new quarrels between the Pope and King arose, and in 1080 Gregory excommunicated and deposed Henry once more. This time, however, the effect was different. Many felt that the Pope had gone too far, and a large section of German and Italian public opinion turned against him. The King took up the challenge. Most bishops were now afraid of Gregory's striving for absolute power and supported the cause of Henry. A synod under his aegis deposed Gregory and elevated the Archbishop Wibert of Ravenna, a worthy prelate, to the papal dignity, who assumed the name of Clement III. Rudolph of Swabia fell in battle, which was considered a judg-

ment of God, and Henry went to Italy, where he won many towns by the grant of great privileges. After repeated sieges he conquered Rome and was crowned Emperor by Clement. But the Norman Duke Robert Guiscard approached with a greater army and Henry found it wise to withdraw. Robert took Rome, which was terribly plundered and devastated by the Normans, and carried Gregory with him to the South. In 1085 Gregory died in Salerno as an exile. He bitterly felt that most of his supporters and even the Romans had abandoned him. His aims were lofty and his plans grandiose. But was his policy in accordance with the spirit of Christ, Who had blessed the meek and the peacemakers, Who had taught not to resist evil and not to raise the sword, and Who had said that His kingdom was not of this world? There are many parallels between the character of Gregory and Luther. Without the work of the great Pope-Reformer, in particular in regard to celibacy, the Lord's Supper and the hierarchy, the monk of Wittenberg might not have split the Church. Luther, however, remained truer to the spirit of Christ than Gregory in abhorring the idea that the Church should mingle in politics. The Catholic Church herself has eventually adopted this point of view.

Henry survived Gregory by nineteen years filled with civil war. The Church tried to protect the common people by proclaiming in various territories a Truce of God, and the King did the same for the whole Empire in 1085. In 1088 the Cardinal Otto of Ostia, a Frenchman and former Cluniac, became Pope under the name Urban II. He was less tempestuous and more diplomatic than Gregory had been. In Germany Henry, after many vicissitudes, gained the upper hand and now made another expedition to Italy. Here, however, the Pope understood how to create a powerful opposition against him, and even Henry's son, Conrad, deserted his father, was crowned King of Italy and recognised the Pope as overlord. Henry's second wife, Praxedis, a Russian princess, whom he had imprisoned for adultery, escaped and charged the King with having induced her to her crime and with other immoralities. This gave the Papalists a new weapon. In 1095 Urban called up all Christians to the first crusade, which opened a new epoch. The Kings of Germany, France and England were at that time all under the anathema of the Pope, while the elite of their warriors enthusiastically followed the Pope's call. Urban died at the summit of papal power. His successor, Paschalis II, was not a politician but an ascetic monk. A new monasticism longed for retirement from the world.

In vain Henry tried to make his peace with the Pope. The

antagonism had hardened too much. The passing of the crusaders from Western Europe through the Rhinelands was accompanied by terrible atrocities against the Jews. The King returned from Italy and at once took energetic measures in favour of the Jews. He also opened an enquiry against the Archbishop Ruthard of Mayence, who was suspected of having insufficiently protected them and having received part of the booty. The Archbishop took to flight. A Land-peace which was more comprehensive than the Truce of God was set up in 1103 for the whole Empire. But just this care for internal peace and welfare aroused the anger of many nobles who clung to the right of unrestricted feud and, particularly, that of the noble robbers, whose numbers had greatly increased in the long civil war. In France this class largely joined the crusade, which, they hoped, would give them splendid opportunities for profitable violence. But Germany did not take much part in this crusade. Henry offered to undertake a crusade if the Pope would absolve him from the ban, but the latter refused and even renewed the excommunication.

After the rebellion of his eldest son, Conrad, the King had his second son, Henry, elected to be his successor and had him crowned, though the young man had to swear that he would not interfere in politics against his father's will. Soon also this son became a rebel and behaved against his father with unparalleled treachery. He took as a pretext that he owed no obedience to a man banned by the Pope, who had released him from his oath to his father. The younger Henry feared that the struggle would permanently estrange the princes from his house without leading to peace with the Church. The civil war accordingly flared up again. On the King's side were many towns, which had profited most from his care for internal peace and who were striving for emancipation from the rule of their bishops. But this attitude of the towns drove the bishops, at their head the Archbishop Ruthard of Mayence, to the side of the son. The latter simulated submission to his father and misused his trust to make him a prisoner. A Reichstag deposed the King and did homage to Henry V. But the father escaped and quickly gained many followers again. He might still have won had he not died in 1106, fifty-six years old.

The Investiture Struggle, as this conflict between the spiritual and the temporal powers is called, brought forth a copious literature. Mirbt has analysed one hundred and fifteen of the tracts extant, of which sixty-five were written by Gregorians and fifty by anti-Gregorians. Many of them were written for a wider public. Since they were all in Latin, educated people only could read them, but itinerant preachers used them to harangue the populace in

German. Even artisans in their workshops and women at their weaving looms discussed their arguments. The subjects treated were not only simony, lay investiture and celibacy but also questions such as whether the Pope could depose a king or whether a synod of bishops or the King were entitled to depose the Pope. The radicalism of the Gregorians aroused much criticism. Siegbert of Gembloux was horrified by the fact that this party had encouraged the mob to use violence against priests whom they branded as simonists or who were married. This was bound to destroy the whole authority of the clergy, and many now despised not only the priesthood but also religion.

The question was also raised whether a king did not also possess a sacred character like the priest-kings of the Old Testament. The Gregorians regarded a king merely as a vassal of the Pope or an official of the people. Gregory VII himself has disclosed his opinion on royalty in a letter to the Bishop Hermann of Metz (1081) in the words: 'Who does not know that kings and princes derive their origin from men ignorant of God who raised themselves above their fellow men by pride, plunder, treachery, murder—in short, by every kind of crime—at the instigation of the Devil, the Prince of this world—men blind with greed and intolerable in their audacity?' If, then, they try to bend God's priests to their will, they must be compared to the Devil. The Pope refers to St. Augustine, who said: 'He who tries to rule over men—who are by nature equal to him—acts with intolerable pride.'

One of the sharpest attacks on Gregory was made in a book by Petrus Crassus, a famous jurist of Ravenna. He took his arguments from Roman and Canon law and introduced Reason as a person addressing the bishops to expel the heretic monk Hildebrand from the Church. A brilliant defence of the King was the book on the discord of royalty and priesthood by the learned Wenrich of Treves. He began in a tone of reverence and brotherly love towards Gregory, but then gave the arguments of his opponents showing him in glaring contrast to the character of a priest. Gregory is charged with simony, the accumulation of treasures and the hiring of armed forces, also with behaving like a military leader. He is blamed for his power-politics in general and his illegitimate elevation to the Papal dignity. By incessant intrigues he had plunged the Empire and the Church into the greatest confusion and discord and caused the death of thousands of human beings. Wenrich confesses that he was deeply grieved by these charges but was unable to refute them. He further criticises the Pope's attitude in the question of celibacy and investiture, the deposition of the King, the

sanctioning of perjury and the encouragement of bloodshed. His arguments are substantiated by passages from the Bible and the Fathers.

This book induced Manegold of Lautenbach, an Alsatian cleric, to write a refutation, which was published after Gregory's death. Particularly remarkable is his justification of the King's deposition with the argument of the sovereignty of the people. History shows that many peoples at many times have overthrown their kings if these harmed the interests of their subjects, and often Popes and bishops have guided such revolutions. The idea that the State was sanctioned by God and that every revolt was, therefore, against His will is rejected by Manegold. Monarchy is no more than an office conferred by the people, and the latter does not want a despot but a protector against tyranny. If, therefore, a ruler employs his power to oppress the people, it is as clear as the sun that he has broken the contract with the people and has forfeited his office. If somebody, for example, has hired a swineherd and then finds that he is a thief or neglects his duties, he will drive him away with ignominy. With even more right a people can dismiss a ruler who violates his duties, since men are higher than animals. True, the Bible commands obedience to the authorities. But a king who has been deposed is no longer an authority. The guilt of Henry IV was that he tried to seduce his subjects to deny obedience to the Pope, which was the sin of apostasy. Manegold was a passionate writer, and in his dedication to the Archbishop Gebhard of Salzburg describes himself as a man of low birth, uncouth and boorish in his style. He later took part in the foundation of the monastery Marbach and became its prior. The papal party had in him an indefatigable propagandist whose sharp attacks on Henry IV led to his temporary imprisonment.

Perhaps the best defence of the royal cause was a book on the Conservation of the Unity of the Church. It is often ascribed to Bishop Walram of Naumburg, but his authorship is not certain. The book is the work of a very able and learned writer, who is also versed in the wider historical background of the controversies. The author tries to look at the questions before him from a higher point of view than that of a party. He does not repeat the usual violent charges against Gregory's personal character and even leaves it undecided whether he was mainly responsible for all the wars and revolts and the discord in the Church. But he shows that Gregory's own declarations were neither consistent with the Bible nor with the law of the Church, nor with historic precedents. God Himself has instituted two powers, that of kings and that of bishops. It

was not the task of the ecclesiastical heads to punish princes and secular powers for every misdeed, but the Church should only wield the sword of the spirit, namely the word of God, and perform works of justice and piety in peace and quietness. After Gregory's death the author wrote a continuation of his book in reply to a pamphlet circulated from Hirsau. In this book Gregory is severely judged as the instigator of endless wars and discord, of perjury and injustice. His politics were entirely incompatible with Christian love.

Henry V (1106-25) had referred to the excommunication of his father to justify his own behaviour, but it soon became clear that this was merely a disguise. He insisted on his right of investiture no less than his father had done, while the Pope renewed the Gregorian rejection of this claim. Soon after the King's accession, negotiations took place at the Synod of Guastalla (1106). The leader of the royal embassy, the Archbishop Bruno of Treves, declared that the procedure in electing a prelate had always been that first the Emperor should be asked whether the candidate seemed suitable to him, then the people had to express their wish, the clergy then elected and the metropolitan confirmed and consecrated him. After a free and non-simonistic consecration he was to be invested by the Emperor with ring and staff and received the regalia on swearing him faithfulness and fealty. Only in this way could he obtain towns and castles, bridges, tolls, etc. If the Pope would maintain this state of things there would be peace and concord between the temporal and spiritual powers. The papal delegate, Bishop Aldo of Piacenza, rejected these demands as incompatible with the freedom of the Church, which thereby would be subjected to servitude. Staff and ring were religious symbols, and a priest could not lay his hands as a vassal into the hands of a layman stained with blood from wielding the sword. The negotiations broke down and the Synod in principle prohibited the lay-investiture.

The royal standpoint was further ably formulated in a tract on the investiture of bishops. It pointed out that the right of the King to invest bishops was well-founded in tradition, had been recognised by many Popes and was customary also in Spain, Scotland, England and Hungary. It was also in the best interests of the Church, as the feudal investiture obliged the King to protect the bishop. The form was not essential. The tract proposed that there should be first the election, in which the King should interfere only as arbiter between different candidates, then the confirmation by him in some appropriate form. The religious symbols, ring and

staff, should be taken from the altar by the elected bishop himself who, lastly, should be consecrated by the metropolitan.

Henry further intervened in dynastic struggles in the Eastern States but with little success. Poland and Hungary became independent, while Bohemia remained a vassal. In 1110 he made his first expedition to Rome at the head of a great army. The Italian princes and towns almost all did homage, and negotiations with the Pope began. Paschalis II, inspired by his ascetic outlook, was prepared to renounce all secular power and wealth which the German Church had received from the Kings since Charlemagne if the King would give up the investiture. The Pope was also willing to force the bishops to submit. Henry was probably convinced that this idealistic plan would fail, but as a cunning diplomat he accepted it, anticipating that the Pope would then be in his hand. Actually, the disclosure of the plan to the bishops and princes assembled for the impending coronation aroused such a storm of protests that it had to be dropped. The lay princes, too, rejected it, since they held large fiefs from the Church and could not consent to the enormous increase in the power of the King, which would have resulted from his recovering the vast ecclesiastical possessions. The collapse of Paschalis's high-minded scheme was followed by the outbreak of violence and fighting between Germans and Romans. The King now again insisted upon his right of investiture, since the Pope had not been able to fulfil his part of the pact. Paschalis refused, but he and his cardinals were arrested and forced to submit to the King's will, who was then crowned Emperor. The Church, however, was aroused by the concessions extorted from the Pope, who was compelled to revoke them. He had had to promise not to excommunicate the Emperor, but synods and the next Pope Gelasius II did it. Henry made a second journey to Rome, but without an army. After long struggles and negotiations, in which Cluny again worked for reconciliation, the Concordat of Worms was concluded between Calixtus II and Henry V, with the advice and consent of the princes (1122). The Emperor renounced the investiture with ring and staff and consented to free election of the bishops, who should then receive from him the regalia as fiefs by means of the sceptre, the symbol of secular power. But he might be present or represented at the election, and when it was contested decide, with the advice of the competent bishops, which candidate was the better one. These and other clauses secured for the Emperor still considerable influence on the elections, at least in Germany, though not in Italy and Burgundy. The strict Gregorians were greatly dissatisfied with the Concordat. The papal

standpoint, however, was that the concessions had been made only to Henry V personally and would lapse with his demise. The Concordat followed precedents adopted in England and France, but much depended on how far the Kings would be able to assert their rights.

Henry V had gained the crown with the help of the princes and he tried to co-operate with them and give them influence on policy in order to prevent them from siding with the papal party. Nevertheless, he was soon involved in many conflicts and hostilities with princes again and, in consequence, sought the support of the ministerials and the burghers as his father had done. Hence the towns, both in Italy and Germany, received valuable privileges. As a chronicler says, the King further used every opportunity to tear away estates and castles from others, to elevate low-born men and to capture, imprison and despoil noble and powerful men. Actually, Henry tried with great energy to restore the property of the Empire appropriated by the magnates. He was also aware that feudal loyalty and the blessings of the Church were less reliable pillars of royalty than the power of money and of public opinion. The literary men (*litterati viri*) at his court were not there because the King was interested in their learning but because he needed them as a propaganda staff. The most prominent among them was the Scotsman David, later Bishop of Bangor, who accompanied him with others on his first expedition to Rome and was commissioned to write the history of this enterprise. His book is lost but has been much used by other writers. The chronicler Ekkehard says that it was written in a very popular style, understandable also to laymen and other unlearned people. William of Malmesbury remarks that it was less an impartial history than a panegyric on Henry V.

The Emperor was married to Mathilda, daughter of Henry I of England, and if they had had children England might have come under the same dynasty as Germany. The Emperor seems to have been anxious to cultivate relations with Henry I, and it is related that at the latter's advice he tried to replace the unsatisfactory feudal services by a money tax, a *scutagium*. This, however, aroused the greatest opposition of the nobility and failed. In the conflict between Henry I and Lewis VI of France the Emperor complied with his father-in-law's request and intended to attack France. But German opinion was unfavourable; he was unable to raise considerable forces, while in France a surprising manifestation of national unity and enthusiasm led to the assembly of a very large army. The Emperor had, therefore, to give up his plan. After his death his widow, Mathilda, married Geoffrey of Anjou, thereby

causing the dynastic union of England with large French territories, which led to great wars.

The most momentous outcome of fifty years of civil war was a great rise in the power of the magnates and the increase of lawless elements living on violence. The bishops were changing in status from royal governors to semi-independent vassals and princes. The lay rulers had gained full rights of inheritance, while the practically hereditary character of the royal crown had in fact given way to election by them. Among the lay princes a number of dynasties with consolidated rights and possessions began to emerge. In Italy the royal rights and revenues had mainly fallen to the towns.

Henry V was a hard, cunning and unscrupulous ruler and not popular. It is surprising that after his death the belief was widespread in the people that he was still alive, either as a hermit in a lonely place in England, or in a French poorhouse, and that he would come back. Should the common man have had a vague feeling that a King ruthless towards the great nobles and trying to enhance the central power was working in his interest? The chronicler Ekkehard describes the terrible sufferings of the people through internal wars during the Emperor's absence in Italy. He contrasts these troubles with the peaceful conditions of other peoples and ascribes the former to the 'Teutonic fury' of the Germans, who alone seem unable to adopt peaceable ways. He also remarks that the Germans do not easily wage war against foreign peoples. These remarks illustrate the German backwardness in developing a sense of national unity and solidarity.

Henry V's main adversary had been the Saxon Duke Lothar of Supplinburg, though he owed his dignity to the King, while the Swabian Duke Frederick II of Staufen, who was his nephew, was his principal supporter. Henry, who died without a son, left his demesnes to Frederick and obviously wanted him to succeed as King. But the princes did not wish the crown to become hereditary and insisted on a free election. For this purpose a committee was formed, in which each of the four great tribes was represented by ten members and which submitted candidates from all tribes. These were then asked whether they agreed to the result of the election, whoever was chosen. Frederick alone did not give a definite answer, and the princes then elected Lothar (1125-37). The new King was favoured by the papal party and he asked the Pope to confirm his election. Other actions of his also seemed to imply that he recognised the Pope as overlord, and Innocent II decorated the Lateran with a picture showing Lothar on his knees before the Pope,

receiving the imperial crown as his vassal. This picture was later to arouse the greatest resentment of Frederick Barbarossa. But Lothar received from the Pope also important concessions in the investiture question. Long feuds with the Staufers ended in his favour. In a struggle between two rival Popes for recognition, Lothar left the decision to a synod of bishops. Pope Innocent II urged him to come to his rescue against his enemies, especially the Normans, and Lothar made two expeditions to Italy and was crowned Emperor. But he quite obviously did not wish to be much involved in Italian affairs. On the first expedition he came with very small forces only. Bernard of Clairvaux, by his eloquence and masterly diplomacy, brought about a second expedition with strong forces, but the army, under the stress of an Apulian summer, forced the King to break off the campaign and return home.

The Saxon outlook regarded the consolidation and expansion of the royal rights in the north and east as much more important than an ambitious policy in Italy. The King had considerable successes in the territories adjoining or near Saxony. In Denmark, Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, parties were struggling for the crown. They invoked the arbitration or help of the German King and were often willing to recognise him as overlord. The Christianisation, colonisation and Germanisation of the lands beyond the Elbe now got into its stride.

Lothar's policy won him wide popularity in Germany. The so-called *Saxon Annalist* and the *Ratisbon Chronicle of Emperors* greatly praise him as a model king. The *Cologne Chronicle of Kings* says that his times were happy ones. There was good weather and all-round fertility and abundance in all things, not only in the Empire but almost in the whole world. The chronicler obviously regards this as the reward of God for Lothar's conduct. This King, he continues, lived in peace and reigned in concord; he was strong in quietness and shone by moderation. In war and peace he was very famous. He was rightly called Father of the Fatherland and his highest praise was that in his days the people did not fear their ruler, nor were they oppressed by men of violence. Everybody enjoyed his own in freedom and peace.

The investiture struggle had the most momentous influence on the whole further course of German history. The question has, therefore, often been raised why in other realms similar struggles were milder and had different results, in particular in England. The Norman conquest was undertaken with the blessing of the Pope, and King William I's principal adviser, the Italian Lanfranc, who was imbued with the spirit of Cluny, was also a great lawyer

and a consummate statesman. This had the most fortunate consequences in building the English Church, State and nation. But Gregory VII's claims for the independence and supremacy of the Church were by no means accepted. William kept the English Church firmly in his hand and maintained the royal investiture. The Popes were too occupied by their struggles with the German and French Kings to challenge English royalty too. They did not wish to endanger the paying of St. Peter's Pence by England, which formed a substantial part of the papal revenues; they had no powerful allies in England, such as the princes and bishops and monks in Germany, and the English King did not threaten their independence and power in Rome and Italy as the German Emperors were traditionally bound to do. True, after the Conqueror Gregorianism repeatedly raised its head in England, too, first in the person of Archbishop Anselm, another Italian, and then in others. The course of politics strengthened it, and when Henry II came to the throne the English Church was as subject to the Pope as were the German and French. The further development will be noted later. The decisive factor in England was that the early kings had laid the foundations of a strong central government and national unity, which all the later counterforces could not break.

The initial policy of the kings encouraged further the development of tendencies towards a national Church and state supremacy, which became a strong tradition in English history. They appear already in the work of an unknown clerk connected with the Archbishop Gerard of York and written between 1080 and 1104. His book, which Heinrich Boehmer has analysed, expresses an outspoken spirit of national independence and anti-Papalism which has no parallel in the contemporaneous literature of the Continent. It denies even the right of existence of the Papacy, puts forward many theses that call to mind those of the Reformation, and praises royalty as sacrosanct with reference to the priest-kings of the Old Testament.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES

THE twelfth and thirteenth centuries are known as the High Middle Ages. In this period, forces which had long already been operating gathered momentum and led to a great moral and intellectual revolution. The hold of authorities and traditions on the individuals was loosened, the most sacred subjects were analysed by critical reason, the whole style of life and thought was transformed and the aims of man ever more shifted from heaven to earth. At the same time, however, the old standards were by no means abandoned but were rejuvenated and entered into a period of unprecedented lustre. It was a most complex combination of forces, a polarity of joy and contempt of life, rationalism and mysticism, collectivism and individualism.

The transformation of the spirit of the time was largely due to the opening development of more modern forms of warfare and government instead of those of feudalism, the growth of towns and trade and the expansion of a money economy. Equally important, however, were great historic events, such as the struggles between the spiritual and temporal powers, the crusades and the increase in the study of classical antiquity. In the contest between the Papacy and the Emperors, both sides made every effort to discredit the other, even calling up the peoples against the adversary. The crusades, though sprung from the clerical and feudal spirit, eventually undermined both. Their final failure naturally shook the trust in the powers responsible for them. But the crusades also in many other ways greatly modified the public mind. Europe was purged of many violent elements. Otto of Freising points out that the first crusade was joined by so many robbers and evildoers that after their departure for the Orient an unprecedented peace spread over almost

the whole of Europe. The Italian cities grew rich by transporting crusaders and supplies and by the opening up of large countries to their trade. The civilisation of the Byzantine and Saracen East surpassed that of the Christian West in almost every field. The crusaders learned to respect their Mahommedan enemies, and the idea was widely spreading that a non-Christian also could be a noble-minded man and might even be better than many a Christian. But while the crusades finally weakened religious animosities, they often awakened national jealousies among the Europeans.

The contact with the Arabs and Greeks in the Near East, in Sicily and Spain, much enriched and stimulated Occidental civilisation, especially in France, which played the principal part in the crusades. Western Europeans found in these countries a highly refined style of life, a great development of learning and thought, and many far advanced ways of production, trade, shipping and waging war. The compass, the Arabic (actually Indian) figures, the bills of exchange, the making of paper and many other innovations became powerful instruments of progress. In all branches of natural science, geography, mathematics and astronomy, Europe learned important lessons, but also many writings of classical antiquity became known to the West and its intellectual horizon was decisively expanded. An early Humanism was spreading and encouraged the appreciation of the natural strivings and faculties of man, which hitherto had appeared as nothing but sin or hopeless impotence. But also beliefs hostile to Christian fundamentals and the Church found their way to the West and led to the spread of sectarian movements in many countries. From the Balkans and the Orient came the Manichean heresy, whose adepts were known under various names, such as Cathari and Albigenses, and which in the Provence obtained the support of the ruling classes and penetrated the whole people.

The beliefs of Christianity were ever more subjected to rational investigations with a view to demonstrating that revelation was in agreement with the reason of man. This striving led to the emergence of many important thinkers and schools known under the collective name of Scholasticism. The Church has at all times comprised two trends of thought, one mystical and more or less anti-rational, and the other predominantly rational and alien to mysticism. In many great ecclesiastics both trends were combined. But many either distrusted reason in regard to the mysteries of religion and laid the main stress upon faith and love, or they disparaged mysticism and devoted their intellect to the rational elaboration of the doctrines of Christianity. The earlier Middle

Ages were dominated by the thought of St. Augustine, who, starting from Plato and Plotinus, favoured the mystical and ascetic outlook, and the symbolic interpretation of the Scriptures and Nature. The world appeared to many mystics as a manifestation of the essence of God, which demanded a symbolic, intuitive perception aiming at the understanding of its hidden sense, while they were not at all concerned with an empirical and rational investigation of causal relations. In the High Middle Ages, however, the application of logical thinking to the fundamentals of religion, even to the ideas of God, Trinity, the nature of Christ, free will and predestination, gained strength. It was, moreover, greatly furthered by the fact that before long the most important works of Aristotle became known, mainly through contact with Jewish, Arabic and Greek scholars. Aristotle in a wide circle gradually superseded Augustine and Plato in dominating Christian thought.

Of all the great ancient philosophers, Plato had been nearest to Christian beliefs and Augustine strongly accentuated the parallels. But Aristotle showed an un-Christian ethos. Human nature appeared to him not as depraved by original sin but as essentially good, and the aim of all human strivings was not heaven but happiness in this world. Morality was merely the art of keeping the golden mean between extremes. While Augustine had seen the principal virtue in humility, Aristotle regarded ambition and pride as signs of a noble soul. To Christ all men were children of God and brothers. Aristotle, however, believed in higher and inferior races, of whom the noble races had the right to enslave the others. Aristotle's idea of God was quite unlike the Christian one. In particular, it had nothing to do with love. The growing knowledge of Aristotle greatly stimulated empiricism and rationalism, it discouraged mysticism and paved the way for the rise of natural science. Jewish and Arabic thinkers, through whom Aristotle became first known, further developed his theories in a sense leading to pantheism.

The Church long looked askance at the rising influence of Aristotle and even tried to halt it by prohibition. But at last she was compelled to abandon this attitude and to adopt from the new teachings what could be reconciled with her doctrine. In the course of this process also Aristotle's treatise on politics became known and aroused great interest. Hitherto writers had treated politics merely under the aspects of Christian morality, in particular from the standpoint of Augustine. Now Aristotle brought quite a new approach, namely a sociological interpretation which regarded politics as the product of social forces.

It was not only Aristotle, however, who exercised a decisive

influence in transforming the ideas on the State and its relations to the citizens. The Greek and Roman world in general looked upon politics from a standpoint very different both from that of Christianity and that of the old Germanic tradition. The increasing study and appreciation of the historians, philosophers and jurists of classical antiquity, therefore, had far reaching consequences. The Germanic view was that the State existed only to protect the rights of individuals who, moreover, possessed a very wide licence to defend their rights themselves, even against the State. The Christian conviction was that the State was designed to protect the Church and to cultivate the Christian virtues. It was only envisaged in its personal aspect of the King, who was responsible to God and was to be a model for his people. The State as an impersonal institution or as a supra-individual being, with an ethos and reason of its own, had not yet emerged in political thought. The old Greek and Roman State, however, was considered by contemporaneous thought as a kind of natural organism superior to the rights of individuals, though subject to their collective sovereignty. Ernest Barker, in discussing Pericles's funeral speech, the most grandiose document of Greek political thought, finds that its gist was: Athenians are made for the City, not the City for the Athenians. Aristotle said: 'It is a great mistake to assume that each citizen belonged merely to himself, they all belong to the State and are essential parts of it.'

The strongest rationaliser was money. The time was full of bitter complaints about the new power of money, which destroyed the old patriarchal order and the spirit of charity, fostered a general scramble for gain and poisoned the mind of all classes. The Church, whose task it was to prevent or curb these evils, gave herself the worst example. The Papacy was becoming a world power, it was building up a huge machinery of government and a diplomacy which far surpassed in efficiency all the States still in the fetters of feudalism. Its magic wand, however, was money. The Papal treasury developed a fiscal system and a bureaucracy which made the money flow from all countries to Rome. At the same time the demoralisation of large sections of the clergy terribly increased. Their avarice and debauchery became the favourite subject of satirists and was also deeply deplored by writers who were faithful sons of the Church. But many critics were by no means better, least of all the wandering minstrels, who entertained their patrons with indecent jokes about the clergy.

The contrast between the wealthy Church with her opulent prelates and the poverty of Christ and the apostles particularly moved

the conscience of true Christians. Many of them resolved to renounce the pleasures and ambitions of life and to lead a life of poverty and humility, following the example of Christ and His disciples. Not a few became wandering preachers like the apostles, who had been simple, unlearned laymen. In early Christianity there was no privileged clergy, no elaborate dogmas and no religious persecution. The new apostles tended to regard only the word of God in the Bible as the supreme authority, they wanted the people to read it and that it, therefore, should be translated into the vernacular. Every Christian should be entitled to form his own opinion and to preach it. This outlook, naturally, led to the negation of many tenets and institutions laid down by the Church for which there seemed to be no sufficient justification in the Bible. Yet, the founders of such movements did not think of starting a revolution in the Church. They usually wanted only to be allowed to follow the example of the apostles in humility and poverty.

It has often been assumed that the striving to return to the ideal and the mode of life of the early Christians sprang from the lower classes and was connected with communist aspirations. This was also not seldom used as a justification for persecuting the new apostles. But, as Grundmann points out, most of the originators came from the upper classes and belonged to wealthy and noble families. Later on, however, the apostolic movements took root in the lower classes also and their spirit was modified by social tendencies. In some cases apostolic sects mixed with others of Manichean origin, with which they had certain tenets in common, especially the criticism of orthodoxy and hierarchy, while in others they quite disagreed. The principle, moreover, that the Bible should also be studied and preached by people who had no learning was bound to lead to countless diversities and also to absurdities. The Scriptures, especially the Old Testament, mirror the spirit of different times and schools of thought and are partly written in an allegoric and Oriental style which an unlearned mind easily misunderstands. It is unavoidable, therefore, that freedom for everybody to form a sect would have led to the splitting up of Christianity into numerous sections, which before the age of tolerance would have resulted in bitter antagonism among them. Berthold of Ratisbon, the greatest preacher of the thirteenth century, points out the disunity among the heretics. There are, he says, about one hundred and fifty varieties of heresies, which he divides into three types, the Waldensians, the Cathari and the Arians. He also remarks that their masters are mostly bootmakers, weavers and spur-makers. They are against taking oaths, capital punishment and the sacra-

ments, refuse any authority to priests living in sin and insist that unlearned men also may preach. Who has two coats must give one to a brother, else he is lost for ever. The Cathari teach, Berthold continues, that the devil created the body and God the soul and that marriage is a capital sin. A frequent heresy was the rejection of transubstantiation or the assumption of predestination.

Many sects seemed to have imbued their members with a serious striving for the attainment of the Christian ideals and have inspired them with the fortitude rather to become martyrs than to abandon them. But other sects had demoralising consequences and not seldom promoted sexual licence. The doctrine of Pantheism was often misused to deny any difference between good and bad instincts, since all human strivings were divine and predestination could easily be taken as a pretext to put the responsibility for sinning on to God.

The Popes long wavered as how to deal with those heretics who undoubtedly wanted to revive the spirit of the apostolic time but also seemed a danger to orthodoxy. The Church was then to a great extent more tolerant towards heresies than the populace, which easily demanded their extermination. Innocent III at last laid down a consistent policy. He tried to win back the followers of the apostolic movements and wanted to integrate sections of them into the Church by letting them form new monastic orders based on the principle of poverty. Irreconcilable heretics were to be left to the Inquisition.

The most important result of the longing for the revival of the true spirit of Christ was the foundation of many monastic orders and also of organisations for laymen and women. Those who have played the greatest role in history were the Cistercians, the Premonstratenses, the Minorites (or Franciscans) and the Dominicans. In the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux created the greatness of the Cistercians, and Norbert of Xanten that of the Premonstratenses. Both orders were inspired by asceticism but also laid great stress upon manual labour and, partly with the help of laybrothers, converted wide tracts of waste land into fertile soil. In the thirteenth century the Minorites were founded to realise the ideals of Franciscus of Assisi. They became missionaries, not only among the heathens but also among the people of the towns. They were not to possess anything but to live on small gifts collected by them. Their special task was serving the poor and needy in the spirit of brotherly love. Later they also took up studies and, besides other work, could show great achievements in natural science and mathematics. The Dominicans, founded by the Spaniard Dominic, were

also a mendicant order and devoted themselves mainly to the refutation of heresies, which task required learning in theology. The Pope employed them also for purposes of the Inquisition. Between the Minorites and the Dominicans a bitter rivalry developed. The Dominicans became pioneers in the study of Aristotle, in particular through the work of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas. The Minorites cultivated more the philosophical tradition of Augustine. But also the Dominicans were not exclusively rationalists, their great mystical thinkers were much under the influence of Neo-Platonism.

All the exertions of reformers, however, to overcome the antinomy within the Church, had no lasting result. On the one hand the very existence of the Church was bound up with the position of a great hierarchy invested with immense power and wealth. On the other the spirit of Christ obviously was quite alien to this fact. In the beginning of the thirteenth century the former tendency found its greatest representative in Pope Innocent III and the latter was represented by Abbot Joachim di Fiore. Innocent was a consummate statesman and jurist who used his outstanding intellect and will to erect a world power. Joachim was a mystic who dreamed of the advent of a new Christianity in the sign of the Holy Spirit. His vision has long inspired mystical thinkers and groups, in particular the Spirituals among the Minorites, but it has also given rise to legends widespread among the peoples which expressed the longing for the advent of peace, justice and the Kingdom of God on Earth.

The High Middle Ages saw further momentous developments in statecraft, especially under Norman rule in England and Southern Italy, later under the Angevines in England and to a lesser degree in France. Their result was the laying of the foundations of modern States. Feudal administrators were replaced by royal officials, and feudal services by taxation in money. The beginnings of parliament, too, took place. The pioneers of these reforms hardly foresaw the revolutionary consequences of their measures. The fundamental prerequisite of success was the growth of a sufficient internal unity and solidarity, both in feelings and in institutions. Only a strong central power in alliance with the Church and with popular support could achieve it.

Lastly, the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were also the time in which literature and art made an extraordinary and decisive progress. The poetry of chivalry and Gothic art were the greatest achievements. The aesthetic side of this development is outside the scope of our study, but the ideas which they expressed naturally

were closely related to the development of the public mind. Writers began to use the vernaculars instead of Latin and to write for an unlearned public. The lay-spirit gradually superseded the clerical outlook. A large didactic and satirical literature castigating social and political evils was widely read.

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THE RISE AND FALL OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS

ON his second Italian expedition the Emperor Lothar had invested his son-in-law, the Welf Henry the Proud, Duke of Bavaria, with great dignities and possessions in Italy, and on his deathbed he also left him the duchy of Saxony and the imperial insignia. But after Lothar's death the clerical party elected, in a rather irregular manner, Conrad III King (1138-52). It thereby elevated the House of Stauf, in present English usage called the Hohenstaufens, to the throne. The members of this dynasty were to become the greatest adversaries of the papal striving for supremacy. The Hohenstaufens were not of ancient high nobility as their rivals, the Welfs, but had quickly risen as faithful vassals of the Salian Kings. The election led to great struggles of Conrad with the House of Welf.

Conrad intended to make an alliance with the Byzantine Emperor against the Normans in Southern Italy and to arrange a marriage between their dynasties. To show his equal rank he stressed in his correspondence his universal power as Roman Emperor, though he had not yet been crowned. In Rome a section of the burghers rose against the Pope (1143) because he had refused them permission to destroy the hated town of Tivoli. They elected a senate, found a great leader in Arnold of Brescia, and forced the Pope to let them have their will. The Pope Eugene III had to flee. Both sides wanted to win the help of the German King. The Pope urgently invited him to Rome, promising him the coronation. But also the revolutionary party asked him to come to Rome to accept the crown from the Roman people and to take residence there. The King rejected this offer but neither could he fulfil the Pope's wish. In the course of these events he had been persuaded by Bernard of

Clairvaux to undertake a crusade which ended in a catastrophe, and soon afterwards he died.

Conrad also made expeditions to Poland and Hungary, which failed. In 1147 the princes began a great expansion in the east. The Pope allowed them to wage a 'crusade' against the heathen Slavs instead of fighting the infidel Saracens. The warlike expeditions, however, foundered. More successful were the plans for a peaceable colonisation of wide lands which were only sparsely populated. When Conrad died the princes elected not his son, who was a minor, but his nephew, Duke Frederick, who was related to the Welfs and, therefore, seemed the right person to end the long struggle between the Hohenstaufens and the Welfs.

Frederick I (1152-1190), called Barbarossa (redbeard) by the Italians, was one of the most dazzling and controversial figures of mediaeval times. Though not learned himself, he had excellent faculties. His feeling of honour was sensitive and he had high ideas of the rights and the dignity of the crown. But he was also a realist and a consummate diplomatist ready to adapt himself to new conditions and to accept compromises. His piety, justice and charity towards the poor were praised by the chroniclers, though they also reported deeds of great cruelty in warfare deemed necessary to break the will of the enemy. The Emperor's personality was the embodiment of the new lay mentality, free from submissiveness to clerical guidance or to mysticism. Frederick would never have done public penance in sackcloth and ashes and with bare feet as some kings had done, nor would he have let himself be scourged by monks as Henry II did to atone for Thomas à Becket's murder. But neither was he liable to such eruptions of wild passion as Henry often had. His behaviour was regulated by the chivalrous ideal of dignified self-control. Even when moved to the greatest anger his face remained calm and bright. He was the perfect knight with all his virtues and faults.

Frederick owed his crown mainly to the German episcopate, and he regarded the bishops primarily as his ministers. Enthusiasm for a reform of the Church was alien to him. He was ready to recognise the vested rights of the Papacy but was not willing to sacrifice to it rights and the prestige of the Empire. Yet, relations with the Pope were at first good, since the latter urgently required the aid of the King. Moreover, Frederick always showed great skill in dealing with the princes and nobles and, in consequence, he was less threatened with revolts than previous kings. He constantly consulted the princes and nobles, often submitted to their counsels and repeatedly declared he could not decide important matters

without them. Like the Salians he made great use of the services of the unfree knights or ministerials and in this respect went farther than they. In strict law they were still unfree but in practice they were ever more treated as equal to freemen, and soon the descendants of serfs began to rise to the status of a new aristocracy. When Frederick I divorced his first wife, Adela, the daughter of a powerful and rich margrave—she had committed adultery—she soon after married a ministerial, Dietho of Ravensburg. The ministerials from the great Swabian estates of the Hohenstaufens gradually became the main supporters of their system; they fought their battles, administered the conquered territories and were soon to be promoted to the highest dignities. Moreover, they also acquired cultural interests, became adepts at the chivalrous civilisation of France and produced minnesingers and epic poets of high rank. This class was also an important factor in the towns ruled by bishops and formed there a martial and restless element.

The young King had first to restore law and order in Germany. He put down disturbers of peace, settled feuds and conflicts and tried to secure a better reign of law by issuing a statute called Land-Peace valid for the whole realm. It contained clauses concerning penal law and procedure and also laid down that every year the count and seven men of good repute should fix the price of grain and that trespassers should be heavily fined as breakers of the peace. The law shows also the opening rise of the knights to a higher status. Particularly important was further the settlement of the territorial complications caused by the feud with the Welfs. Various agreements were already made before the first Italian expedition, and immediately after it Frederick definitely returned Bavaria to Henry the Lion, while the march Austria was made a separate duchy and given to Henry II of the Babenberg dynasty and his wife Theodora, a Byzantine princess (1156). The Austrian Duke received further extraordinary privileges, which gave him an almost royal position and formed a fateful precedent, since they naturally encouraged the striving of other princes for greater power. The King was further occupied with affairs of Denmark, Poland and Hungary. In all these countries there were rivalries among different claimants for the crown, and he was invoked to act as arbiter or asked for help and recognised as overlord. Duke Wladislaw of Bohemia, who in these struggles proved a faithfully, received the title of King. A marriage with the heiress of Burgundy gave Frederick control over Burgundy proper, Savoy and Provence.

Frederick's historical record, however, was mainly determined

by his Italian policy. Of the 38 years of his reign, thirteen were spent in Italy. The King was impelled to proceed to Rome to be crowned Emperor and to take up the fight with the Normans and Greeks for the control of Southern Italy. In the northern parts the old rights of the Empire, especially the rich revenues from the towns, had ceased. If Frederick could make these dried-up sources of money to flow again it would have enhanced his power in Germany as well. In return he could offer the Italians internal peace and a reign of law instead of constant strife. The prospect of a great increase in the King's power in Italy was, however, bound to arouse the strongest resistance of the Papacy and jealousy in all countries. The position of the Popes was then a very precarious one owing to the development of the public mind. It was not their personal conduct, however, which gave cause for grave criticism but the general rise of the Church to a position of huge power and wealth. Bernard of Clairvaux had castigated the bishops for their love of pomp, their avarice and lust of power in the sharpest words. Norbert of Xanten, Arnold of Brescia and many others longed for the return to the humility and poverty of the age of the apostles. In Germany, Gerhoh of Reichersberg spoke with the greatest bitterness of the high prelates and of the corruption and venality of the Papal court. He expected the Antichrist to come from Rome—the real Babel. Hadrian IV, personally a worthy Pope, once asked his confidant and compatriot, John of Salisbury, what people thought of the Papacy and the Church. John gave him the most gloomy picture of public opinion, and he obviously agreed with it. At that time, further, the authority of the Pope was particularly challenged by the movement of the Roman burghers, whose leader was Arnold of Brescia. Several Popes had already wished the German King to come to their help, but also the Roman republicans were to repeat the offer to Frederick which they had already made to his predecessor.

Other Italian factions, too, desired Frederick's intervention. The Lombard towns, in particular Milan, had acquired great wealth and a republican independence. Their government was in the hands of nobles and rich burghers, and politicians from these classes often aroused the lower classes also and acquired almost the power of dictators. These town republics strove to subject the adjoining territories to their rule, and this led to bitter struggles between them, often intensified to mortal enmity by commercial jealousy or other reasons. The German chronicler Rahewin says that the Italians were fighting one another with a fury and cruelty which was not permissible even against barbarians, not to speak of a kindred people.

Otto of Freising, too, is amazed by the incredible rage shown in those feuds between Italians. Milan was particularly ruthless against her rivals. She completely destroyed, for example, the town of Lodi, forced the inhabitants to settle dispersed in four villages and prohibited there any trade. Burghers from Lodi, Pavia, Cremona and other towns appealed to Frederick for justice. He sent an envoy to Milan ordering the town to abstain from further oppression, but the envoy was treated with the greatest contempt.

Immediately after his accession the bishops had urged the King to go to Rome in order to put down the Pope's enemies and to be crowned. But the princes opposed this plan as premature and also rejected other plans of expeditions, which Frederick had to give up. In 1154, however, Frederick set out for Italy to be crowned. This was the only occasion when the vassals were obliged to accompany the King to Rome. Yet most of them found some excuse, few appeared in person, among them Henry the Lion, and the host was only one thousand and eight hundred knights strong. In consequence the King could not achieve much, though many Italian towns and princes did homage to him. At the request of Pope Hadrian IV, Frederick had Arnold of Brescia arrested and handed him over to the Pope. He was executed, which was deplored by Gerhoh of Reichersberg, then the foremost ecclesiastical writer. Frederick was crowned Emperor and a revolt of the Romans put down. But when he wanted to wage war against the Normans, as he had promised the Pope, the princes refused any further service and Frederick was forced to lead them home, which he did with 'a bitter heart'. The Pope, in consequence, made his peace with the Normans.

In the following years the Emperor made efforts to obtain the support of the princes for a new Italian campaign to restore the rights of the Empire there. But the princes showed themselves very reluctant. What sentiment was like in the towns was shown by the violent protests of Mayence against the armaments and war tax ordered by the Archbishop Arnold, a man of ministerial origin and former chancellor of Frederick, though other reasons, too, made him unpopular. An uprising took place in which he was murdered. Already on the first expedition there had been friction between the Emperor and the Pope about the question whether the temporal power was subordinate to the spiritual. This tension was soon to be much aggravated by the rise of Rainald of Dassel to the position of one of the most influential statesmen of the Emperor. He was a Saxon noble who had studied in France. He was now appointed the Chancellor of the Emperor and later became

Archbishop of Cologne. In 1157 a Reichstag was held at Besancon at which a serious conflict arose about the relations between the Papacy and the Empire. A phrase used in a papal message and a remark of the Papal legate Roland seemed to indicate that the Emperor was regarded as the vassal of the Pope. This aroused a storm of indignation among the princes. Later the Pope declared that his words had been misunderstood. Now the Emperor and his Chancellor Rainald began to stress in their declarations the independence of the Empire from the Papacy, its sacred character and its connection with the old world-wide domination of imperial Rome.

In 1158 Frederick undertook his second expedition to Italy. He had at last brought together a large army, which was re-inforced by Italian auxiliaries. Milan was besieged and capitulated. The Emperor declared that he wanted to rule not in an arbitrary manner but in a way respecting the liberties and rights of everybody. A commission of Italian jurists and representatives of the towns was formed to ascertain the old rights of the Empire. The revenues due to the Emperor were to be administered by officials, which would have implied a revolutionary break with the feudal system. Most towns submitted and were granted autonomy under imperial overlordship. But Milan and a few others refused to accept the regime devised by Rainald. War broke out again. The Emperor had already dismissed most of his troops and had to call up re-inforcements, and in order to break the will of resistance he resorted to cruel forms of warfare. The princes urged him to end the war and grant mild terms, but Rainald prevented this. Things came to such a pass that most princes left the Emperor and went home and others in an altercation with Rainald drew their swords against him and would have killed him had not the Emperor intervened. After a siege of a year Milan surrendered. Her Italian rival towns demanded her destruction, and the Emperor let them carry it out (1162). The towns suspect of disloyal sentiment were placed under imperial officials, who resorted to very oppressive exactions; other towns kept a measure of autonomy.

The first victory over Milan had already encouraged the Emperor to envisage further plans of increasing his power over Italy. The Pope remarked that he wondered how the Emperor would achieve this, considering that he was unable to put down even his own princes if they rebelled against him. Relations between Pope and Emperor had constantly worsened, and Hadrian IV would have banned Frederick if he had not died. The majority of cardinals elected Roland his successor, who assumed the name of Alexander

III. The minority voted for the Cardinal Octavian, who called himself Victor IV. The Emperor maintained the appearance of neutrality and called a general Church council at Pavia. But while Victor accepted the invitation, Alexander rejected it on the ground that the Pope was not subject to any higher authority. The Council, therefore, recognised Victor, and the two Popes hurled the anathema against one another. Frederick, too, was banned by Alexander (1160) and his peoples were released from their oath of allegiance. Victor died four years later and was replaced by Paschalis III. In the following years the Emperor made many efforts to win other kings and Churches for his cause, especially those of France and England. These wavered long and their attitude repeatedly changed in connection with the course of general politics. In most countries, however, the trend of public opinion was ever more in favour of Alexander and against Frederick. Even in Germany his party increased, and the Emperor was compelled to take severe measures against archbishops and others who sided with his enemies. Cluny supported the Emperor, while the Cistercians worked against him. The Abbot of Cluny was later deposed and fled to the Emperor.

This schism in the Church lasted for eighteen years and both camps waged a war of propaganda in order to influence public opinion. Alexander's party used the Gregorian arguments, but his rival, Victor, accused Alexander of the worst simony and French minstrels sang of these things on market places and at dances. The strongest argument of Alexander's party was that Frederick was striving for world domination and wanted to make the Pope a tool for this policy. This charge was mainly spread by the Bishops Arnoulf of Lisieux and John of Salisbury. The latter called Frederick a Teutonic tyrant, complained of the arrogance of the German knights and asked: 'Who has made the Germans arbiters of the nations? Who has given these boorish and wild people the right arbitrarily to place a ruler (the Pope) over the leaders of mankind?' John was the most ardent defender of the Gregorian principle of the Papal supremacy and rejected the idea of a national Church under government control. He also combated the argument of the Roman lawyers that the Emperor had his power from the people and that it was absolute and universal. He had it from God through the Pope, averred John of Salisbury, the Church decided who was a tyrant, and against tyrants even murder was justifiable. John, however, stood for papal supremacy also against those who put England's national independence first. This compelled him to spend years in exile under the protection of the King of France. Yet he

was not indifferent to England's national aspirations. He induced his compatriot, Pope Hadrian IV, to authorise the English King to conquer Ireland, just as Alexander II under Hildebrand's guidance had sanctioned the Norman conquest of England.

It was certainly not Frederick's aim to conquer the world, or to depress England or France to a subject position. But his supremacy over the Papacy, even if only factual, would certainly have given him a position incompatible with the sentiment of other peoples developing towards nationhood. Inconsiderate remarks of Rainald and other imperialists stimulated suspicions, and Frederick himself once spoke of the King of France as a provincial king. True, such utterances did not mean the claim that the other kings were subject to the Emperor. But they made a very bad impression. Rainald of Dassel's propaganda exalted the greatness of the Emperor by describing him as the representative of God on earth. Italian jurists taught that the Roman law entitled the Emperor to universal rule. Charlemagne was glorified and declared a Saint.

In 1163 Frederick went to Italy again, but with very few knights only, since the princes had refused their support. He intended to call up Italian forces for a campaign against Rome and Sicily, but conditions were unfavourable. Venice and Lombard towns made an alliance against him and he had to return to Germany without any success.

Three years later the Emperor made yet another expedition. Many bishops and princes took part this time, among the latter also several who during his last absence had committed grave breaches of the peace and, therefore, had every reason to earn his pardon and grace. There were also considerable contingents of Bohemians and seasoned mercenaries from Brabant. The expedition was aimed at Rome and Sicily. Rome was captured, but Alexander III escaped. The Emperor's complete victory seemed imminent, when suddenly a terrible plague, obviously malaria, broke out among his troops. More than two thousand knights died and many others became incapacitated. Prominent princes and statesmen were also carried away, among them Archbishop Rainald, the man mainly responsible for the schism in the Church. It was clear to everybody that this was the judgment of God. The news encouraged the Lombards to rise against the hated yoke. They formed a permanent league, which soon comprised twenty-two towns and some princes. Frederick had to retire hastily, his appeals to Germany for help had no effect and at last he had to flee in servile disguise over the Alps to escape his enemies.

Frederick now stayed for more than six years in Germany, longer

than ever before. His aim was to acquire as many territories, properties, fiefs, etc., as possible, and to consolidate them into a solid base of power. This was actually achieved. In the north, Henry the Lion was engaged on the same policy with such success that a great realm seemed to originate there. But this rise of the Duke to an almost royal position aroused the jealousy of the other Saxon princes. Thereupon Henry made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land at the head of five hundred knights and dazzled even the Oriental rulers by his splendour and open-handedness. Frederick carefully prepared a new Italian expedition. He raised money by mortgaging estates and tried to win public opinion by making known that the honour and even the existence of the Empire was at stake. Yet, as Giesebrecht says, the public was averse and few were willing to take part in an enterprise fraught with such danger. They remembered the outcome of the last expedition. Many great feudals asked to be exempted, and Henry the Lion, too, declined. Yet Frederick entered Lombardy. After some fighting the Lombards were willing to subject themselves and Frederick was prepared to make them far-reaching concessions. But the negotiations foundered at the demand of the Lombards that peace should be made with the Pope as well. Frederick had already sent home part of his forces. He asked Henry for help, probably even in a humiliating way, but in vain. In the battle of Legnano the Emperor had one thousand German knights and five hundred Italians, while the Lombards were much stronger. In consequence victory fell to the Lombards. Frederick esteemed it best to enter into negotiations with the Pope Alexander. In 1177 peace between them was concluded and both sides were reconciled. The Lombards received an armistice for six years. The Pope could not return to Rome but under the armed protection of the Emperor, and after a few years he was again forced by the Romans to leave the city.

The friendly relation between Frederick and Henry the Lion had in the meantime given way to a strong tension. The Saxon princes had grave complaints against the latter, and a trial before a tribunal led to his conviction in contumacy since he had not appeared. His vast possessions were distributed among loyal princes (1180). Henry later submitted to the Emperor, received back part of his lands, but had for a time to live as an exile in England.

Frederick made a sixth journey to Italy in 1184. His son, Henry, was betrothed to Constance of Sicily; at that time, however, it could not yet be anticipated that she would actually be the heiress to the Sicilian crown. At the request of Milan the wedding was celebrated in this city, which now enthusiastically acclaimed her

former foe. On this occasion Henry was also crowned King of Italy (1186). The German crown he had already received in 1169, when he was three years old.

In Frederick's last years new struggles with the Pope broke out but were eventually appeased. The Emperor concluded an alliance with King Philip II of France. Dismal news, however, came from the Holy Land. The Christians there were threatened with disaster and the Emperor, now in his seventies, took the cross. The crusade was faced with great difficulties but might have reached its aim. Yet the Emperor was accidentally drowned in the River Salef in Cilicia (1190), and after great losses only small remnants of the army saw the Holy Land.

In the age of the Hohenstaufens the German towns advanced greatly in wealth and power. They also made financial contributions to expeditions of the Emperors or hired knights for them. But apart from the ministerials of the archbishops, who ruled the towns, there is no evidence that the urban people took an interest in the Italian wars or that the rulers thought of making adequate use of them. Even Otto of Freising expresses the feudal contempt of burghers. Yet the towns had already valiantly fought for Henry IV; they took part in crusades, revolted against their rulers and even waged naval wars. Their fleets won great fame at Lisbon (1147), at Damiette on the mouth of the Nile (1219) and at Bornhoevede (1234). The burghers were soon to be foremost in developing new ways of warfare. The Emperors were also too much dependent on the goodwill of the princes to associate themselves with the towns, and it is very doubtful whether the latter would have welcomed such an association.

Under Frederick I a great constitutional change took place through the settlement of specific cases which became important precedents. The Emperor wished to weaken the dangerous power of Henry the Lion and used the opportunity to partition the latter's possessions and give parts to reliable supporters. This increased the number of small territories and rulers. Conditions further compelled the Emperor to grant certain rulers privileges which enabled them to ascend to an almost sovereign position in their territories. The privileges for the Austrian Dukes were glaring examples. The Duke of Bohemia became King. Furthermore, a small number of magnates were recognised as the only princes of the Empire on the ground of their feudal rank as the King's direct vassals. Numerous nobles who had hitherto been considered princes as successors to the Carolingian counts were now regarded as inferior in rank. Bishops and abbots directly under the King

became his vassals and, in consequence, real princes. The change implied the final victory of the feudal principle over the old Carolingian idea that public administration was a royal office. True, Frederick's reform only completed what had already been developing for a long time. He assumed that the feudal obligation would strengthen the power of the King over the territorial rulers. Specific conditions, however, made this impossible and led to the quite opposite result.

The age showed everywhere the growth of national feeling, which was stimulated by many factors. The great struggles with the Papacy and the Italian towns, the crusades and the wars with the Slavs contributed also to the rise of national sentiment in sections of the Germans. But hatred against an enemy or rivalry with another nation is not enough to create a strong and durable national solidarity. This can only be achieved by the development of a strong central power and a well-organised State. Frederick I failed to develop the forces making for national unity and he created no institutions fostering and safeguarding national solidarity. The forces of particularism gained ground. A sense of national pride remained on the whole restricted to small circles of nobles and knights actively supporting the Emperor's policy. Large sections of the upper and middle classes, however, seem to have been indifferent unless some extraordinary event stirred up feelings of solidarity. The majority of the clergy stood long on the Emperor's side against papal pretensions, but in the course of his conflict with the spiritual power, loyalty to the Pope proved in wide circles stronger than that to him. Yet there were always bishops who clung to the tradition of Charlemagne and Otto I, or who were more statesmen or warriors than servants of Christ. One of Frederick's best fighters was the Archbishop Christian of Mayence. In one battle he killed nine enemies with his club, which he used since the Church must not shed blood. Albert of Stade reports that Christian once knocked out the teeth of twenty-eight noblemen with his own hands, using a stone for this purpose. He was, however, a man who had engaged in study and spoke many languages.

The custom of calling the Germans by the name of the tribe to which the dynasty belonged continued. Since now a Swabian or Alemannic dynasty was in power, Germany was often called Alemannia. But this was also partly due to French influence. The German poets of chivalry even used the French form *Allemagne*. Among the tribes there was still much distrust and hostility. North and South Germans spoke such different dialects that books written in one of these dialects had to be translated into the other or into

Latin to become readable to the others. The *Saxon World Chronicle*, written in Low German, was, for example, translated into High German and into Latin. On the other hand, Duke William of Lueneburg asked a learned writer, Arnold of Luebeck, to translate Hartmann's *Gregor*, and the translator found this task very difficult. *Freidank*, too, was translated from High German into Low German and into Latin. Between the North and the South there was also a great cleavage in political and economic interests.

Henry VI (1190-97) was a highly gifted ruler, imbued with a restless striving to increase his power. By his marriage with a Sicilian princess he became the legal heir to the rich realm of her father, though this claim was contested by a rival, Count Tancred. Henry was further faced with the opposition of a Sicilian national party and by that of the Pope, who could claim to be the overlord of Sicily and had good reason to fear a union of the crowns of Germany, Italy and Sicily. Henry's attempt to conquer Sicily therefore foundered. He was able, however, to induce the Pope to crown him Emperor. The situation was complicated by the growing antagonism between the French King Philip II and the English King Richard Lion-Heart, who was the former's vassal for his French possessions. The Hohenstaufens and the French dynasty of the Capets were then allies. King Richard, on the other hand, on his crusade made an alliance with Henry's rival, Tancred, and backed a conspiracy of numerous German princes against their King, who thereby was faced with the risk of being deposed. King Richard behaved in the most overbearing manner towards the French King, the German knights and many others on the crusade. When Duke Leopold of Austria had his flag hoisted on a tower stormed by him, Richard had it thrown down and trampled underfoot. The King of France and the Emperor declared Richard an enemy and ordered everybody to arrest him. On the way back from the crusade Richard fell into the hands of Duke Leopold, who imprisoned him and later handed him over to the Emperor. This act against a crusader aroused wide indignation, and the Pope excommunicated the princes involved in the act. English public opinion is expressed in the chronicles of the time, which indulge in vituperations against all Germans, calling them a mean people, gigantic in body but lacking every virtue of the mind, unfaithful and worse than the Turks. The Austrians are described as horrible in speech, squalid in appearance, dirty dregs living together more like wild beasts than human beings. The hatred of Austria was still voiced by Shakespeare in his *King John*. Richard was eventually released for a huge ransom and had to swear allegiance to Henry. His brother,

John, had already before done homage to Philip II of France and wanted to prevent Richard's release.

Richard Lion-Heart's arrest saved Henry VI. The conspiracy against him collapsed, he could reconcile himself with the Welfs and Richard's ransom helped him to conquer Sicily, where Tancred in the meantime had died. With Sicily, Henry also obtained the enormous treasure which the Norman kings had accumulated. Leading posts in the government were largely entrusted to German ministerials. The Emperor succeeded in greatly extending and consolidating his German possessions. He harboured various plans of aggrandisement, most of all against the tottering Byzantine Empire, which was torn by a struggle between rivals. His great plan was the old Norman one of building a Mediterranean Empire. Henry further planned a crusade which was to win the Pope and to serve his plans of aggrandisement.

The Emperor also wanted to obtain the consent of the princes and the Pope for making the succession to the German crown hereditary, and he offered them great concessions in exchange. The princes seemed almost persuaded, but at last the project was wrecked by the opposition of the Pope, whereupon the princes, too, turned against it. But his younger son, Frederick II, was elected King. A revolt of the Sicilian national party and a conspiracy against Henry's life were suppressed with great cruelty. The crusade was on the point of starting when the Emperor died of malaria. Before his death he gave instructions to make important concessions to the Pope. Previously he had already offered Richard repayment of the ransom, as also Duke Leopold did in part when he was dying, and released Richard from his vassalage.

Soon after the Emperor's death, Innocent III became Pope. The ideals of Gregory VII were also his, he was a great jurist and diplomat and worked with great success for subjecting all governments and the Church to his authority. The Church, furthermore, was everywhere to become a State within the State, with her own jurisdiction and finances, directed by the Pope alone. True, this system was repulsive to minds longing for a Kingdom of God which was not of this world. Heresies were rapidly spreading and the Inquisition was organised to exterminate them. Yet under this very Pope, Francis of Assisi began to preach the gospel of brotherly love and humility. The Franciscans and Dominicans became powerful organs of the Popes to win the hearts and minds of the peoples.

Henry's son, Frederick, was only three years old when his father died, and he grew up as King of Sicily and as a vassal and ward of the Pope. The German domination in Italy and Sicily broke

down. In Germany the majority of princes, backed by France, elected the late Emperor's brother, Philip, King with the title of Emperor, while a minority, backed by England, elected Otto IV, a son of Henry the Lion, who had been educated in England and was Richard Lion-Heart's favourite. The Stauf-Welf rivalry was resuscitated. The Pope claimed the right to decide who should be King, but the Stauf party of princes and bishops vigorously protested against this claim. The power of the Pope depended on the continuation of the rivalry and he supported first the one and then the other rival. For ten years civil war devastated Germany. Each rival was compelled to give away royal domains to win supporters. Philip, a man of mild and noble character, was at last murdered by a personal enemy. Now Otto was generally recognised and bought the Pope's favour with great concessions at the expense of the rights of the Empire. In particular he renounced the royal influence on the election of bishops laid down in the Concordat of Worms. But he soon took up the Hohenstaufen tradition of expansion in Italy, which induced the Pope to excommunicate him. France had a great interest in getting rid of a German King in close alliance with her enemy England and, therefore, proposed the election of Henry VI's youthful son, Frederick, the heir of Sicily. The Pope much disliked a reunion of Sicily with the Empire but consented on conditions excluding a permanent union. Frederick was elected with the help of French money and had also to propitiate the Pope by the cession of valuable rights. The struggle between Otto and Frederick was decided by the French victory at Bouvines (1214). It was one of the most important events in history. The consequences were, in England Magna Charta, in France the laying of the foundations of a strong monarchy, and in Germany the reign of a King who was mainly attracted by Italy and, therefore, left Germany to the princes, who wished to make the central power as weak as possible.

Frederick II had extraordinary gifts, great accomplishments and a most impressive personality. In his youth he lived for eight years in Germany; yet it is doubtful whether he knew much German, though he spoke many other languages. In 1220 he returned to his Sicilian realm, and of the following thirty years of his reign he stayed only one and a half on German soil. The reason was that Sicily and Italy seemed to offer far better chances for realising his dream of a Mediterranean and Oriental Empire, ruled by him with absolute power. Continuing the Norman tradition, he created in Sicily a highly centralised absolutism based on officials and mercenary soldiers and a fiscal regime providing the money to pay

them. His officials were almost all Italians, while Germans were only employed as soldiers. Frederick's court was the most dazzling in Europe. It combined Christian and Saracen civilisation and was the birthplace of Italian poetry. The Emperor himself had astoundingly wide cultural interests, but his utterances about religion horrified the orthodox. He employed Jewish scholars to translate Aristotle from Arabic versions and Arabic commentaries into Latin and thereby initiated a revolution in the thought of the Middle Ages. In spite of his personal tolerance, however, he later decreed the severest measures against heretics in order to buy the good will of the Pope. Frederick further planned to restore also the imperial rights in Northern Italy. This aroused the Lombard towns, who renewed their defensive league. Yet peace was for some time maintained by Papal arbitration. To further his ambitious plans the Emperor also wished to undertake a crusade as demanded by the Pope. He married the heiress of the crown of Jerusalem and assumed the title of King of this realm.

During the Emperor's long absence the German princes had a golden opportunity to consolidate and expand their power. The nominal King was Frederick's minor son, Henry. For some time Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne, was Regent. He was an excellent statesman but was soon murdered by personal enemies. His successor as Regent was Duke Lewis of Bavaria, who, too, was assassinated. The successor of Innocent III was the mild and peaceable Pope Honorius III, who in spite of differences remained in good relations with the Emperor. He even tolerated, after some protests, that Frederick set aside his promise that the crowns of Germany and Sicily should not be permanently united. In 1227 Gregory IX succeeded him, who had once been the protector of Francis of Assisi, but after his elevation to the Papacy showed himself an aggressive representative of papal imperialism. Frederick had at last completed his preparations for the long delayed crusade. The number of knights assembled was very great, but the enterprise had bad luck. A deadly fever broke out, and when the Emperor, himself ill, returned for a cure, the Pope immediately, without hearing his explanations, banned him. But Frederick made contact with the ever restless Romans and the Pope had to flee from Rome. Now Frederick started for the crusade, though the Pope prohibited and condemned it, and by clever diplomacy the Emperor secured more than all the crusaders before by arms. The Sultan Al Kamil ceded to him Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth and the other holy territories. Yet the Pope refused to raise the ban; he released the Emperor's subjects from their oath of allegiance,

stirred up civil war in Germany and allied himself with the Lombards. War broke out between the troops of the Emperor and the Pope. When Frederick returned from the Orient he quickly obtained the upper hand, then dismissed his troops and offered peace to the Pope, who very reluctantly accepted and received great advantages for this.

In the meantime King Henry, Frederick's son, had come of age. His father was compelled by his Italian policy to secure himself the goodwill of the princes by meeting their wishes. Henry disagreed with this policy and wanted to give the consolidation of royal power in Germany priority of expansion in Italy. This expressed the attitude of a strong group of ministerials who surrounded the young King. Henry favoured the interests of the knighthood and the burghers and took many steps to increase his possessions and strengthen his position. Had he succeeded the whole course of German history might have changed. But the princes were already too strong and forced him to grant them further substantial privileges. Already in 1220 Frederick had issued a statute enlarging the rights of the ecclesiastical princes and now (1232) he could only confirm the new concessions his son had been forced to make. At the same time the Lombard towns renewed their opposition to the Emperor's plans for recovering his rights and raised an army. In 1234 King Henry proceeded to open rebellion against the Emperor. He wanted to separate Italy from Germany and allied himself with the Lombard towns. The Emperor obtained the assistance of the Pope and forced the rebellious Romans to submit to the latter. He then went to Germany, besieged his son in the castle of Trifels, made him a prisoner and kept him in Italy in strict confinement until his death. Frederick further issued a great statute, the first law in German language, which was mainly designed to secure internal peace (1235). The right of waging feud was restricted to cases of self-defence and denial of justice. A supreme judge was appointed to represent the King-Emperor. Frederick also twice tried to acquire Austria for himself in order to increase his territorial power in Germany.

The remaining fourteen years of Frederick's reign were filled with incessant wars. He had first to fight the Lombards, who suffered a great defeat at Cortenuova. Peace negotiations were opened but broke down by the Emperor's demand for unconditional surrender. His successes had enhanced his ambition to such a degree that he preferred a life and death struggle with the Pope to a reasonable compromise. He dreamed of the restoration of the Roman Empire in its old glory, and to this purpose wanted to

govern Italy by means of his officials and to make Rome the centre. This naturally rendered the Pope Gregory IX and later (1243) Innocent IV, his irreconcilable enemies. The Popes tried everywhere to stir up princes and peoples against the Emperor; they put him under the ban; deposed him; released his subjects from their oath; made use of the interdict and poured out a flood of propaganda tracts. An army of mendicant friars were thundering against Frederick, who was accused of having called Moses, Christ and Mohammed three swindlers and of having committed other blasphemies. He was described as the Antichrist and the Apocalyptic Beast. The Council of Lyons was an imposing demonstration of the Church, but the Kings of France and England could not be induced to join the Emperor's adversaries. The Pope, however, made the German Church more and more subject to his power. This culminated in a decree that the bishops were henceforth not to be elected but to be appointed by the Pope. The papal propaganda fostered also revolts of the German princes; twice rival kings were set up and civil war ravaged wide parts of Germany. The Emperor now gave privileges to towns, which soon belonged to his most reliable partisans. In Italy conspiracies against his life and that of his sons were repeatedly hatched with the encouragement of the papal party, and many of his highest and most trusted collaborators were involved in these plots.

But Frederick, too, understood how to wage a war of ideas, though he did not possess as many popular agitators as the Pope. He tried to win the Romans by flattering their national vanity, promising them the restoration of the Roman Empire and bowing before the sovereignty of the Roman people. On the other hand, he exhorted the German princes to save the honour of the German nation, which was envied by other nations for possessing the Empire. But the princes knew that this was merely propaganda and showed no zeal for his cause. They did not take much part in his Italian struggles. Yet he won many Italians by the prospect of restoring peace and order in their country ravaged by fierce feuds between towns and parties. As an example may be quoted what the Italian chronicler Salimbene reported about the hatred between the citizens of Pisa and Genoa. Between them, he says, there was a natural loathing as between different kinds of animals, and each side tried to exterminate the other, driven by mere jealousy, pride and vain glory. Soon everywhere in Italy two parties arose, an imperial and a papal one. The former were the Ghibellins, a word derived from a battle-cry of the Hohenstaufens, the latter the Guelphs, the Italianised word for Welfs. The antagonism between

them lasted for centuries but was later mixed up with many personal and local rivalries.

Frederick II further tried also to win all the other monarchs, calling them up to a common struggle against the revolutionary spirit embodied in the Lombard towns. Many rulers actually sent him troops to fight the Lombards, in particular the Kings of England, France, Castile and Hungary, the Byzantine Emperor and the Sultan of Egypt, besides German and Burgundian Princes and many Italian towns and nobles. The attacks of the Pope were returned by the Emperor with equal violence. He accused the Church of having sacrificed her evangelical character to her lust for power and to sordid financial interests, and of striving to subject all kings and people to her world domination. These charges were approved by influential circles in various countries which felt that the new papal absolutism was also a threat to their national independence. Frederick's propaganda appealed not only to the dynastic interest of the kings, but also to that of the nascent nations. Though primarily an absolutist, he had understanding for the usefulness of parliamentary institutions and encouraged them both in Sicily and in the German territories. His revolt against papal absolutism aroused also sympathies among high ecclesiastical circles, who would have preferred to restrict the power of the Papacy by a sort of parliamentary constitution of the Church. There were further many longing for the purification of the Church from the contamination with worldly power and greed and for her return to the spirit of Christ. The policy of a number of great Popes seemed to turn the Church into a gigantic super-state permeated by a spirit which seemed the very opposite of the Gospel. The mystic visionary Joachim, Abbot of Fiore, had predicted the coming of a new spiritual age, and his followers saw in the Emperor the rod which God used to punish the pride of the Papacy and to prepare the advent of the reign of the Spirit.

For years the great battle swayed to and fro. After reverses the star of the Emperor was rising, and he might have definitively won the upper hand had not sudden death overtaken him (1250). His sons, Conrad and Manfred, tried to maintain the position of their house in Sicily, but the former died soon and the latter lost his life in a battle with Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France, whom the Pope had induced to conquer Sicily and to become King as a papal vassal. Conrad's youthful son, Conradin, tried to win back the realm but was defeated by Charles of Anjou, who had him beheaded on the scaffold (1268). The decline and fall

of the Hohenstaufens caused in Germany a long period full of violence and lawlessness, known as the Interregnum.

Though Frederick's policy had been disastrous for Germany, his name lived on in the memory of the people in a fantastic vision. A myth represented him sitting in the interior of a mountain and waiting to reappear at the end of time. In the later Middle Ages there was widespread revolutionary fermentation and agitation caused by social oppression and the corruption of the Church. Many people believed in mysterious prophecies that Frederick would return, cleanse and reform the Church, help the poor and weak and at last lay down his crown. Princes of the name of Frederick often aroused the hope that now the saviour had appeared. Parallels to these beliefs existed also in France; but here the hopes were put on the advent of a French prince of the name of Charles. In much later times the German legend substituted Frederick Barbarossa for Frederick II and it was then associated with the modern longing for German national unity.

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POLITICAL THOUGHT AND SOCIAL CRITICISM
IN THE AGE OF THE HOHENSTAUFENS

THE spreading of political and historical interest in wider lay circles led to the writing of books in the German language, which reflected public opinion. The oldest extant is the Chronicle of the Emperors, written in verse in 1150, shortly before Frederick's accession. The chronicle deals largely with the old Roman Emperors and with mythical stories. It seems to have been very popular. The author ardently wishes for true concord between emperor and pope and judges the emperors accordingly. He particularly celebrates those of them, who, like his hero Charlemagne, were pious, mild and just, waged just wars only and secured peace to the world. Lothar receives high praise. The author shows himself a partisan of the Welfs and a Bavarian patriot. He is not much interested in the Italian expeditions and devotes his attention more to the East, describing the incursions of the wild Hungarians and the struggles with Bohemians and Poles. In regard to social relations, he is against letting the peasants rise above their proper station.

The time of the first two Hohenstaufens was also that of the greatest German historian of the Middle Ages, Otto, Bishop of Freising. He was related to many of the great families and an uncle of Frederick I, who admired him and employed him in important affairs. Unlike many German bishops, who primarily were fierce warriors and proud princes, Otto was imbued with Christian humility and charity and deeply versed in philosophy. Important books by Aristotle were first brought to Germany by him. He was perturbed by the prevailing spirit of violence and the misery of human existence. His chronicle surveys the whole of history and is inspired by Augustine's vision of the perpetual

conflict between the two communities, that of God and that of the devil. History appears to Otto as an unending tragedy. Human pride in power, glory and greatness is a fleeting illusion. Every empire, however mighty has suffered its decline and fall. The Bishop believes in the divine mission of the existing Roman Empire to protect the Church and to maintain peace and justice in the world, but he fears that the Empire will be destroyed by the Church and thinks that this event will herald the end of time. Though he obviously regards the Church as a much higher institution than the Empire, he is aware of the fact that the Popes were partly responsible for the tragic conflict with the emperors, and this contributes to his deep pessimism. The Empire was to him the continuation of the old Roman one, which had been transferred several times to a new ruling people, and at last to the Franks. In theory it was still the Frankish Empire, though the Western Franks, the French, had seceded. But Otto does not regard Germany as its principal part. He often calls Germany the realm beyond the Alps showing thereby that he considers Rome as the centre. Italy, however, is unable to live in peace without the emperor. Among the Italian towns there is the fiercest rivalry and constant war is waged with great cruelty.

Otto's second historical work relates mainly the course of events in the first years of Frederick I's reign. The Emperor himself was greatly interested in this work and contributed to it documents and a survey of his actions. At that time the Emperor seemed to succeed in restoring peace and justice in the Empire. Otto died before the great conflict with the Papacy broke out. This work, therefore, is not as pessimistic as the former. The historian is proud of the rise of the prestige and authority of the Empire and also of the achievements of his nephew and the Germans in general, but his highest ideal remains universal peace. In both books he often expresses his horror of war, though he cannot deny that it is sometimes unavoidable, a divine ordinance which mortals cannot understand. Otto also detests any breach of faith or duplicity, even if committed in the interest of the State, and he declares that also in writing history truth must be a higher aim than the glorification of one's own State.

The Bishop's work was ably continued by his secretary Rahewin. He shows his national sentiment in his description of the resentment caused by the suggestion of the Pope that the Empire was under his suzerainty, and in other places. But in the struggle between the Emperor and the Pope he is careful not to commit himself. Rather he gives readers the documents and lets them

form their own opinions as to the rights and wrongs. In describing Frederick's character he lays great stress upon the fact that the Emperor loved war merely as a means to achieve peace and to maintain the rights of the Empire against unlawful aggression.

Otto of St. Blasien was another writer who continued Otto of Freising's history. He praises Frederick I because he had increased the power and splendour of the Empire and he deeply mourns the Emperor's death. Among all the German mediaeval chroniclers he is foremost in expressing national pride in German valour. About the siege of Milan by Frederick, however, he says that the Milanese fought for their fatherland, families and very lives, but that the warriors of the Emperor fought for their glory, honour, reward and ambition and from love of boasting. The greatest advantage from this war seems to him that Archbishop Rainald brought from Milan precious bones of saints, which he presented to the Church of Cologne. Thereby the Archbishop had 'magnicently raised the whole German people'. In the opinion of the time relics of saints were not only a help in spiritual troubles but also a shield against all possible misfortunes. The Cologne Chronicle, too, relates that Rainald was received in Cologne with the greatest honours, since the relics redounded to the 'perpetual glory of Germany'. The Cologne Chronicle is the work of several successive writers, of whom the first two were imperialists and the two following papalists. This chronicle regards the German emperors as successors of the old Roman ones and says, for example, that Frederick became the ninety-first successor of Augustus in the year 1903 after the foundation of Rome. German towns are called by their names used by the old Romans and the European Christians are designated as 'Romans' in contrast to the Orientals.

A generation ago, H. Prutz, a prominent historian, wrote that never in the past had the German people felt so strongly as a nation, never had it been so imbued with a vigorous national sentiment and such a joyful and just national pride as under Frederick I. This historian, however, was not an uncritical admirer of the Emperor. He disapproved of his policy against the Lombard towns as reactionary and antiliberal, and other historians of the age of German liberalism were even more severe. At the same time, however, G. Voigt pointed out that the Emperor's death made astoundingly little impression in Germany and that he was, indeed, a figure rather alien to the German people. A comparison of the principal chronicles seems to confirm this

opinion. The Cologne Chronicle expresses grief about the Emperor's death but deplores much more the sad plight of the crusaders bereft of their leader. This chronicle also says that most of the Emperor's fame was due to Rainald, the Archbishop of Cologne. A number of chroniclers report the death without expressing any mourning of their own, for example the Annals of Marbach, Arnold of Luebeck, Albert of Stade and Hermann of Altaich. Arnold adds that the judgment on the Emperor should be left to God, and also the Cologne and Altaich annalists refer to God's justice or decision. This implies the suggestion that the death was the retribution for the Emperor's behaviour towards the Pope. The chronicle of the monastery Stederburg, which was pro-Welf, was more outspoken. It says that nothing praiseworthy or notable could be said of this Emperor, except that he died in a foreign country, and his inglorious end was the judgment of God. The Saxon World Chronicle, though friendly to the Hohenstaufens, relates Frederick's exploits without expressing an opinion and remarks on his death only that it was much lamented in Christendom. The author's Saxon heart, however, rejoices in the story that the Emperor fell on his knees before Henry the Lion imploring him for military help, but in vain. Some copies of the chronicle even have pictures of this scene. The Goslar chronicle of St. Simon and Jude remarks on Frederick's death that the prophetess Sibylla had predicted of this Emperor that he would reign the Empire like a fox, possess it like a lion and leave it like a dog. It also calls him Frederick the Great. This abbey had received a great privilege from the Emperor. A satirical epic depicts a realm of animals whose king is the lion Vrevel, which word means wickedness. It is full of bitter mockery at royalty and court life, and Hans Naumann thinks that it was meant as a lampoon against Frederick. The lion and his circle meet a disgraceful end because they trust a rogue. Towards the end of the thirteenth century Alexander of Roes passed a very sharp judgment on Frederick Barbarossa and the Hohenstaufens in general because they had brought about the decline of the Empire.

The traditional view that Frederick I was very popular and that the German people celebrated him as a national hero and as the World Emperor is usually based on a number of poems praising him, in particular the epic *Ligurinus*, often attributed to Gunther of Pairis, and to the writings of Godfrey of Viterbo, an unknown author from Bergamo and a minstrel known as the *Archipoeta*. But all these authors were either in the service of

the Emperor or wanted some reward from him. Godfrey had for forty years been the most intimate collaborator of Frederick and was an Italian, as was also the writer from Bergamo, Gunther shows German national pride; he had been a tutor to a son of the Emperor but had lost his favour and wished to regain it. The nationality of the minstrel is unknown, but he certainly wrote for reward and was on the propaganda staff of Rainald of Dassel. It is also noteworthy that Gunther declares himself for Pope Alexander III against the Emperor's antipope and that also Godfrey praises him.

The voluminous chivalrous poetry of the Hohenstaufen age still existing makes hardly any reference to Frederick I or his policy, while a number of poems are coloured by sympathies for the rival house of Welf. There was, however, a German epic on Frederick Barbarossa which has not been preserved. That no copy has survived speaks rather against the Emperor's popularity. The author of *Ligurinus* regrets that the honour of the Emperor has hitherto not been sufficiently celebrated. Only in much later times was Frederick I brought nearer to the people by poets and writers.

The struggle with the Papacy aroused also most foreign chroniclers against the Emperor, but after his reconciliation with the Pope and especially when he set out on his crusade, foreign opinion swung in favour of Frederick. English and French writers now exuberantly praised him as 'Our Emperor', though some still considered his sudden death a divine punishment for his past sins against the Church.

The ideas of the German Church about the mission of an emperor were laid down in the grandiose play of the Antichrist (ca. 1160). It was performed in or before churches and was accompanied by music. The Emperor as the successor of the Roman world emperors asserts his claim to universal overlordship in order to undertake a crusade. The French King alone refuses, pointing out that he had a better claim to the Empire, but he is defeated and does homage as a vassal. All the Christian nations are now united, the Emperor leads them to the Holy Land and conquers it. Thereupon he enters the temple of Jerusalem, prays and then lays down his crown and sceptre on the altar. He thereby resigns his dignity of Emperor and henceforth will be King of Germany only. Now the time has come for the Antichrist. His forerunners are the hypocrites and heretics, and with their help he drives out the Church from Jerusalem and seduces the Kings of Greece and France to recognise him as their

lord. The German King rejects his demands and the forces of the Antichrist attack him, but he vanquishes them all. Yet the Antichrist soon, by ruses, wins also power over the King of Germany, whom he deceives by false miracles. He further forces the King of Babylon, the representative of the Mahometans, to become his vassal. The Jews first see in him the Messiah, but the prophets Enoch and Elijah appear, warn them and profess their belief in Christ; whereupon the Jews see through the deceptions of the Antichrist and approach the Christian faith by praising Holy Trinity. They are all dragged before the Antichrist, who condemns the prophets to death. But the Jews defying martyrdom definitely adopt Christianity. The whole world now lies at the feet of the Antichrist and adores him as the highest God. Yet his reign does not last long. It is suddenly shattered by a miraculous event announcing that the day of the Last Judgment has come. All his followers desert him and profess the true faith.

Henry VI was judged in different ways by the chroniclers. Otto of St. Blasien wrote: 'The Germans and all the people of Germany should lament his death for eternity, for he has made them great by the riches of other countries. He made all the neighbouring peoples tremble before their warlike valour and showed that the Germans were superior to the others. If death had not prevented him he would by his force and skill have revived the splendour of the Empire in its old dignity'. This exuberant appreciation, however, is not shared by other chroniclers. The Saxon World Chronicle is obviously hostile to him and proud that the Saxons forced him to give up his plans for making the crown hereditary. The chronicle of St. Simon reports only that he was poisoned by his wife, though this was not true.

The chronicler Burkard, Prior of Ursberg, who died in 1230, was a loyal churchman but also a staunch defender of the Hohenstaufen cause. It was natural that he felt very bitter about the papal policy, which had plunged Germany into a devastating and demoralising civil war. The Germans are described by Burkard as warlike and invincible in battle, loyal to their princes unto death and trusting only men of their own tribe. The dignity of the priest is held in higher honour by them than by other peoples. Burkard, however, is not blind to the faults of the Germans. Foremost among these is their lawlessness. They are lacking in reason, he says, and follow their own will only instead of the law. This is largely due to the reign of obsolete customs and the absence of written legislation, except Frederick I's great Land Peace. Even this imperial statute is not

properly carried out since the Germans are a rustic and untamed people. The third rebellion of Milan against the Emperor he ascribes to the insolent conduct of the German knights. The Germans detest all justice vying with one another for gain and honour and indulging in the worst outrages to obtain them. When Otto IV showed energy in persecuting malefactors, the chronicler says, very many of his own vassals at his court took to flight posthaste, for in Germany the barons and knights are mostly robbers.

The warlike violence prevailing in Germany struck also foreign observers. The learned English Minorite Bartholemew, who in 1230 came to Magdeburg to lecture on theology, later wrote a great encyclopedia which for centuries was widely read and was translated into many languages. In it he devotes also much attention to the national character of different peoples. Germany appeared to him as a populous contry, rich in towns and mines, and the people tall, fair, fierce and warlike. In the Rhinelands and the Netherlands, however, the people are less given to robbery and internal war than elsewhere, though they are bold against other peoples. Misnia (the country around Dresden) also had a peaceable and civilised population. The Frisians would rather die than tolerate any infringement of their personal and political freedom and they do not permit the rise of a knighthood. They and the Westfalians are praised for their good morals. Of his own country Bartholemew says: England is a strong and sturdy land, so rich that she does not need the help of any other land, but every land needs England's help. She is full of mirth and games, free of heart and tongue, but the hand is better and more free than the tongue.

An awareness of national peculiarities begins to appear which was alien to the traditional Christian attitude and anticipated that of humanism. The causes were the increase in contacts between peoples and the awakening of national consciousness, which led to the idea of a national character and to the rise of prejudices concerning that of other peoples. This ideology found a fertile soil at the University of Paris, where students from all countries met. But their beginnings can be traced back to the encounter of knights of various nations on the crusades. The French regarded the Germans as wild, uncouth warriors, while the latter scoffed at the care of the French nobles for their elegant appearance. Such judgments reflected different scales of social development, and there were peoples which looked upon the French as these did on the Germans. The sophisticated Greek princess

Anna Comnena described the French crusaders as barbarians, and the Italian friar Salimbene of Parma, a man of noble origin, compared the French noblewomen with rustic servant girls since in France the nobles lived outside the towns unlike the Italian ones. Many German writers admired the polite manners of the French, but Salimbene remarked they had pleasant manners only as long as one praised their institutions but else showed intolerably haughty contempt of all nations, especially of the English and the Italians. Otto of Freising already mentioned levity as a French trait.

Ideas on constitutional and other political questions are to be found in the lawbooks also, the collections of customary law, which were compiled in the age under review. The most famous work of this kind was the *Saxon Mirror*, which was written in the twenties of the thirteenth century by Eike of Repgow, a Saxon knight and Schoeffe (jurymen), who was outstanding by his noble character, wide practical knowledge of his subject and acute intellect in treating it. His work evoked an enormous response and greatly influenced the development of German law. The underlying ideas were certainly typical of a wide section of opinion in the free rural society of his country and beyond. The author was a pious Christian, a Saxon patriot and a German, well read in the Bible and other works, but not a learned man. He had not studied Roman law, and though he knew Latin and some French, he shows no knowledge of the Latin classics or the new Italian and French spirit. His lawbook was first written in Latin and then translated into Low German. It is also an important source of German constitutional law, which was unwritten, fluid and vague and open to different interpretations. The Mirror's statements are, therefore, sometimes rather subjective and more the expression of political ideals than a record of the really existing order. Eike of Repgow wishes to set forth the good old law of the forefathers, whose wisdom was inspired by God. He shares the general mediaeval opinion that the antiquity of law is a strong presumption that it is valid, and he is distrustful of innovations. But he does not entirely reject modifications made necessary by new developments and, in particular, recognises the old Germanic tradition only as far as it does not conflict with the Christian ethos. The fundamental law is not made by man but comes from God and has been implanted by him in man's sense of justice. God Himself is law and justice. He also reveals the guilt by means of ordeals when other ways of finding the truth are lacking. The State

exists only to enforce the law. The King is elected for this purpose and is the supreme judge. Even Charlemagne could not change the old folk law against the will of the tribe. The territorial princes, too, must neither levy taxes nor introduce new laws, except with the consent of the land.

The realm of the King is the Empire, but Eike deals only with the German part. God has successively created four empires, and the present one is the continuation of the old Roman Empire. Caesar had conquered Germany and the Franks had then inherited the Empire from the Romans. The theory of a Roman conquest had already been put forward in the *Anno Song* and in the *Chronicle of Kings*. But Eike adds a collateral title by the story that the Saxons had been in Alexander's army and had helped him to conquer his empire. They had then left Asia and founded their own realm in Germany, which later was subjected by Caesar. The writer, therefore, traces the right to the Empire to God, who let first Alexander and then Caesar win it by force of arms. But the title of the Germans is inheritance.

The crucial question of the time was the relation between Church and State. H. Fehr has, in an analysis of Eike's views, maintained that his attitude gradually changed. His original standpoint was the full independence of the royal power from that of the Papacy. God had given the spiritual sword to the Pope and the temporal to the Emperor, and both shall assist one another. But the Pope cannot directly interfere in the affairs of worldly government. His ban affects the soul only, not the legal position of a person. Later, however, Eike seems to have modified this in favour of the spiritual power. Nevertheless, he restricts this right of the Pope to ban the Emperor to three cases: when the latter doubts the true religion; when he forsakes his wife; when he destroys churches. Eike further states that the King acquires his royal powers by his coronation in Aachen, but that the name and powers of Emperor he obtains from the Pope by the coronation in Rome. This, too, implies a certain concession to the papal claims, since the idea then prevalent in German ruling circles was that the election and coronation of a King conveyed also imperial powers.

Eike records the rise of the Electors to the decisive position in nominating the King, though he still clings to the right of all princes, including counts with high justice, to sanction their proposal. But he wishes to exclude the King of Bohemia from the rank of Elector because he is not a German. His German con-

sciousness, however, does not go so far as to impose the German language on the non-Germans in the Empire. A person may be sued in his own language only, except if he has earlier already used German before the court. Yet before the Emperor's court he can be tried in his own language only, since there everybody is judged according to his tribal law. A Slav must not be judged by a Saxon, nor a Saxon by a Slav. If a Swabian objects to the judgment of a Saxon, or a Saxon to that of a Swabian, the King alone may decide. These and other rules show how far Germany was still removed from a national State. Neither the King nor the princes are above the law and they may be put before special courts. The King's judge is the Palsgrave of the Rhine. Should the King or a judge commit an injustice, everybody may resist them and defend the law. This seems to encourage anarchy, and some historians of law, especially Zeumer, have interpreted Eike's words in a different sense. But Kern and Fehr upheld the former interpretation.

The powers of the Emperor and King are very complex. As Emperor he is primarily the protector of Christianity, his main function as King is that of supreme judge, and as the highest feudal lord he is chiefly the military commander in chief and head of the princes. His military powers, however, are very restricted. The vassals have only to accompany him on the journey to Rome until he is crowned and to serve him within Germany for six weeks, which excludes offensive wars. Outside Germany they have no obligations, and those in the Eastern parts need only repel Slav invaders. Besides the Empire there are also other institutions exercising powers in their own right, which, from a modern point of view, would be incompatible with the sovereignty of the State. The Middle Ages, however, did not know such a sovereignty. Eike recognised only one sovereign: the old law given by God and he often clings to old institutions and tends to represent them as still valid, even if they had become empty husks.

In the Middle Ages already serfdom was both defended and criticised. The most frequent justification was the reference to Genesis 9.25., where Noah condemns his son Ham and his offsprings for Ham's unfilial conduct to eternal servitude. The serfs were in consequence regarded as the descendants of Ham, and the other ranks as those of his other sons. This belief had first been put forward in the sixth century by Bishop Avitus of Vienne. In the twelfth century Honorius Augustodunensis, an eremite living near Nuremberg, wrote a book which did much

to popularise it. But he added that the peasants through their frugal and laborious life mostly earned salvation, while of the knights, traders, etc., the majority would go to hell. The idea that the common man was dear to God later played a great role in sermons and didactic poetry. There were also writers who saw in the serfs the descendants of Cain, who according to the Bible was a tiller of the soil and who was cursed by God. Eike of Repgow, however, rejects these and other biblical justifications of unfreedom. God had made man in his image, he says, and Christ had redeemed him by his sufferings. The rich are not dearer to him than the poor. In the beginning everybody was free. Eike could not reconcile it with truth that anybody should be owned by some other human being. Passages from the Bible are quoted showing that Moses and Christ stood for freedom. A man being in God's likeness cannot be another man's property. The truth is, says Eike, that servitude was created by force; that it became an unjust custom and eventually was falsely declared to be the law.

This bold attack at the foundations of feudal society made a deep impression. Quite a number of the other lawbooks more or less echo the *Saxon Mirror*. The *Swabian Mirror* corrects one of Eike's biblical arguments but points out that servitude was an obligation founded on protection. If the lord did not fulfil his part of the pact the serf need not fulfil his. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the Roman law began to obtain great influence, and the jurists often tended to identify serfdom with Roman slavery, which contributed to the decline of the unfree classes. The *Saxon Mirror* became the model for other lawbooks, not only in Germany but also in foreign countries. The *Swabian Mirror* was written by a clergyman, who surpassed Eike in learning but was inferior to him in other respects. This lawbook teaches that God gave both swords to the Pope, who then bestowed the temporal power on the Emperor.

Though Eike of Repgow stood for freedom, regarding slavery as incompatible with Christianity, he did not advocate social equality. Everybody was to have his own kind of freedom rooted in old tradition. Every 'Stand' (legal and social rank) had its different rights, duties and customs. The *Saxon Mirror* also knows people who have lost their Stand and, therefore, also the rights connected with it, for example convicted criminals, illegitimate children, and those with a disreputable occupation. The Church tried to bring the differences of status into agreement with the spirit of Christianity. Before God all men were equal,

and the social differences were to be overcome by brotherly love and charity. Moreover, many ecclesiastical thinkers made use of the idea of a social organism, in which the different classes corresponded to the organs. Each station in life had its special function and vocation and, therefore, everybody should stay in that into which he or she was born. Analogies between the natural and the social organism were frequent in the ecclesiastical literature. In the Investiture Struggle royalty was compared to the body and the priesthood to the soul, or the king was identified with the head and the clergy with the heart. John of Salisbury referring to a spurious Greek source elaborated the analogy. Other writers tried to give social inequality a religious sanction by referring to the celestial hierarchy. If there were ranks in heaven, as shown by the three divisions of angels, or the ten angelic choirs, it was natural that men also should be separated from one another in groups of different rank.

In the field of theology and learning Germany, in spite of a few exceptions, was long far behind France and England. In the thirteenth century, however, a Swabian count became the most universal and erudite scholar of his time, which honoured him by calling him Albert the Great. He was a Dominican who taught in Paris and in many German towns, especially in Cologne, where he died (1280). His thought was much influenced by Arab and Jewish philosophers, Plato and the Neo-Platonists and, in particular by Aristotle. He was also one of the greatest fore-runners of natural science. Albert's greatest merit, however, was that he initiated the study of the whole philosophy of Aristotle and thereby prepared the soil for his disciple Thomas Aquinas. The latter used his work to elaborate a system of thought which has remained up to the present day the philosophy of the Catholic Church. Aristotle soon became a force which went far to undermine the whole structure of mediaeval thought.

Here, however, we have only to take short account of Albertus Magnus's contribution to political thinking. In this field he closely followed Aristotle, though with a certain caution which has sometimes raised doubts whether he identified himself with the teachings of the Greek thinker or only wanted to state and explain them. But he obviously went far in accepting them, except when they were incompatible with Christian ethics. Albert, like Aristotle, regarded the State as a spiritual organism grown out of man's natural instincts, not as an artificially constructed machine. He also follows him in his criticism of Plato's communism and community of women. Private property in-

creases industry and productivity, but the use of the products should largely be in common. The owner of property is in regard to the income exceeding his needs only a trustee on behalf of the poor. In an emergency everything becomes common according to the law of nature. Albert condemns all profiteering by arbitrarily raising prices, but admits in certain circumstances the paying of interest.

Albert's view of the law of nature shows the influence of Cicero and the Roman law. The decalogue, too, was conceived as natural law besides being revealed by God. The Old Testament causes certain difficulties because it contains cases in which God commanded acts contrary to the law of nature, for example the sacrifice of Isaac. This raises the question whether, or how far, God can dispense with the natural law and order the doing of evil. The scholastics have much discussed the question whether the natural law was liable to exceptions or not, or whether it contained various kinds of rules differing in this respect.

Albert knows not only moral duties but also civic ones, for example that of paying taxes. This, however, is not arbitrary. Taxes are only due in case of urgent necessity and in the public interest, for example the defence of the country. Those who take part in the government are exempt, viz. the king, his advisers, the priests and soldiers. An army is justified for defence only, but whether the citizens are obliged to do military service is not discussed. In war every excess is forbidden, for example violence against non-combatants. Tournaments, too, are rejected by Albert.

The aim of the State is happiness, and this primarily requires education for morality. As regards the form of States, Albert mostly follows Aristotle. But he stresses that every State is to a certain extent a monarchy, because there must be one central will if it shall not fall to pieces. Yet, the head of the government has no arbitrary power. He must be guided by justice and his functions are determined by law. He is in a sense above the law but not against it. This obviously means that he can alter the law if this be necessary in agreement with the spirit of the law. Should he act arbitrarily, however, he is a tyrant, and his rule is unjust. Injustice must always be resisted as far as possible. Excepted cases are when God has admitted a tyrant as a punishment, which must be tolerated. Every government, moreover, is a mixture of different constitutions. Its monarchical head secures the unity of policy, his executive organs form an aristocracy based on efficiency, and his treasury is run by a timocracy, a

set of money-makers. Monarchy easily degenerates to tyranny, an aristocracy to oligarchy, and the rule of the rich to democracy.

Albert is convinced that the main task of a government is the moral education of the people, which also includes the care for their health. Youth should be educated in common under the guidance of the State and not be left to the arbitrary will of the parents. This is to secure their civic education, to become good citizens, trained in self-discipline, prudence and justice. Albert is also a warm friend of education for women, though not the same as for men.

The epoch of the Hohenstaufens was the golden age of German mediaeval poetry. It owed much to Provencal and the French models and reached its greatest splendour between 1190 and 1220, the time of Henry VI, the civil war and the beginnings of the reign of Frederick II. In these thirty years the four greatest poets wrote their masterpieces and, besides, unknown authors compiled the epics of the Nibelungen and Gudrun. These epics are based on old popular songs and myths reflecting the spirit of half-barbaric times. But the works of the poets of chivalry are centred on love and honour according to the standards of a refined aristocratic society. They paint the ideal of a Christian knight ruled by prudence and fortitude, justice and generosity and excelling in self-discipline. Love is not merely regarded as a sensual passion but as a means of ennobling the soul and character. The great poets show universal sympathy for all creatures and believe in the worth of every human being irrespective of race, religion and rank.

The knight poets of the Hohenstaufen age came mostly from the class which was the mainstay of imperial power and many had served the emperors in Italy or the Holy Land. But their epics are not concerned with these exploits. They are non-political, and their subjects, form and spirit were mostly common to the chivalry of all countries. A certain ambition, however, can sometimes be observed to raise German poetry to the same level as the French. An early anonymous poem complains that the German language is poor and difficult to handle for a poet, and another poem dealing with the Pilatus legend says that it was considered too hard for poetry but must be hammered like steel on the anvil with pains and labour to make it pliable.

The conflict between emperor and Pope was the paramount question of the time, and closely connected with it was the decline of the central power and, in consequence, of internal peace. Many writers voiced their feelings about these issues. Another

grave question was the social crisis. The idea of feudalism that the king's vassals exercised public functions gave way to stark patrimonialism, which made these public functions appear as private property. The increase in wealth and worldliness further induced many in every class to seek enrichment and aggrandisement by unscrupulous means. Forgotten was St. Paul's exhortation that everyone should abide in his calling (1 Cor., 7.20). Rulers prohibited the lower classes from imitating the ways of life of their superiors but sometimes with scant success. In the ideal view of feudal society the nobles were the protectors and defenders of the weak and poor, and their privileges were justified by the prevalence of patriarchal relations between the high and the low. Economic matters were fixed by tradition and the striving for gain was considered unbecoming to a nobleman. But when the nobles began to rival the burghers in making money and to fleece and plunder their serfs, the feudal order was doomed. The growth of cultural refinement, too, might widen the cleavage between the classes. French poets of chivalry not seldom treated the peasants with utter scorn as sub-human beings. The German poems were not blemished by aristocratic arrogance, but this attitude was certainly not alien to many German knights, too. In Austria and Bavaria, where French influence was weak, the poet knights remained near to the mind of the people, and even those who made fun of their rustic manners sympathised with their robust naturalness and preferred the charm of country girls to the sophisticated rules of courteous love.

The feudal contempt of the common man was opposed by many preachers, in particular by friars. Certain religious orders laid stress on hard manual work by their members, and their example ennobled it. In sermons the peasants were called God's most beloved children, their morals were declared better than those of the upper classes and they were described as the strong legs of the social organism. But the preachers also blamed their vices and warned them against striving to rise against the social order or to abandon their humble station.

An important feature of the time was the rise of a class of professional and itinerant authors who sought to make a living by their literary work. They are known as minstrels. Before the invention of printing and the rise of a booktrade the market for books was too small to enable an author to live by their sale. They had to bring their works to the public themselves and wandered from castle to castle, from town to town, from village to village, everywhere reciting their verses for a reward. The

lowest kind did not much differ from the ordinary gleemen who visited fairs and inns and produced their music, antics, dances, jokes, plays, tamed animals, and so on. Many also entertained their public with old sagas or tales of adventure, still others told of recent events likely to arouse interest and added their own rhymed comments or gave vent to criticism of social evils. This latter variety anticipated functions later exercised by the political press. But there were also wandering minstrels of higher standing, who were admitted, or even invited, to the courts of kings, princes and great nobles and, if they won their favour, might stay there for years. The court minstrels were often employed in defending the policy of their lord and thereby became propagandists.

An outspoken national sentiment is shown by Walther von der Vogelweide, one of the greatest lyrical poets of all times. He was a poor knight, probably an Austrian, who earned his living as a wandering minstrel. In some of his poems he bitterly deplores and condemns the policy of the Pope, who not only exploits the Germans by financial exactions but also stirs up civil strife leading to anarchy, violence and brutality. Another poet says that Walther drew thousands away from the Pope's cause. The view, however, that he was an official propagandist of the Hohenstaufens goes too far. Walther was a good patriot, but his love of Germany was not of an aggressive kind. One of his poems says that he had seen many lands with an open eye, but he preferred Germany to all the others because of the good manners of her men and the angelic beauty of her women. He also shows religious tolerance and rejects social and racial prejudice. Many a blackskinned man, he says, is inwardly virtuous. Besides his lyrics he also produced short poems known as *Sprueche* (epigrams) treating political or social problems in a poignant style. This kind of literature became popular through him and was cultivated by many minstrels.

Next to Walther the most remarkable minstrel of the early thirteenth century was Freidank, a Swabian, who took part in Frederick II's crusade (1228). His name means Freethinker and was perhaps a pen name. His book was long extremely popular as the numerous manuscripts still extant show, and it must to a great degree have expressed public opinion. The author made use of many sayings and tales of the people and gleanings from classical authors and other poets. Freidank was a good Christian but inspired by a broadmindedness which probably was the fruit of his experience on the crusade. Christians, Jews and Hea-

then, he says, are all God's children. The greatest vices are pride and haughtiness and lack of truth and loyalty. Freidank unsparingly castigates the oppression of the poor by the rich but remarks that if a poor man becomes rich he usually turns into the worst of oppressors. God has created peasants, knights and clerics, but the devil's cunning has made the money-lenders, who by their usury dominate all the others. The task of a ruler is to maintain peace and right, yet many princes, especially in Germany, misuse their power for financial exactions and the oppression of the poor. Freidank would prefer that the Emperor alone should have power instead of all the princes who discredit the honour of the Empire to enhance their own power. With the decline of the imperial power the worst violence and injustice have become rampant in Germany, and irreligion and heresy are increasing. But the author is no friend of unbridled absolutism. The Emperor himself is merely a man with human frailties. The real lord is God alone. Every property and rank is no more than a fief from God dependent on the proper fulfilment of the service which is the aim of a fief. Freidank is aware of the revolutionary implications of this sentence. He adds that if he would speak his mind quite freely he would have to flee the country. Actually, he is very outspoken, especially in his judgment on the moral corruption of the Church and the cynical misuse of ecclesiastical power to extort money from the people. He is also very bitter against the Pope, who has banned Frederick II and persists in his hostility towards him, though the Emperor has liberated the Holy Land. The Italians hate the German so much, he says, that before seeing the Holy Land in their hands they would rather leave it in the possession of the infidels. Freidank expects the coming of the Antichrist who will certainly find many followers among the German lords.

In the time of the Interregnum Master Rumezland was a prolific and influential minstrel. His name means: Leave the Land. Many minstrels adopted suggestive names. In numerous songs he scolds princes, nobles and common people alike, while the clergy is spared and the rich are said to exist by God's ordinance in contrast to Freidank's view that the devil had made them. This minstrel sees the worst evil in the widespread violence and robbery. He condemns the robber knights and the princes and nobles protecting them but also the peasants who run away from the plough of their landlord and become robbers. The minstrel Wernher the Gardener wrote a colourful story of a peasant lad who, spoiled by his mother, left honest work on

the farm of his father, became a robber knight and suffered a terrible fate.

The writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries criticising social conditions are so numerous that they cannot all be mentioned here individually. We refer, therefore, to Gudde's excellent study on this subject. A principal subject is the contrast between true and false nobility. Almost all the writers declared that noble birth without a noble mind had no value, and many praised the common man ennobled by his virtues. Nobles oppressing the people were fiercely attacked. Even many noble authors held this view and defended it in impressive words, for example one named Winsbecke, who was the author of a poem giving advice to a young knight, Thomasin of Zirclaria and Ulrich of Lichtenstein.

Violent criticism is further directed against the rich, the merchants and money-lenders as well as the wealthy prelates and nobles. The general feeling is expressed in the words: Money is King! It dominates all ranks of society. An early representative of this sentiment was Henry of Melk, who probably was a lay brother of noble origin in the Austrian monastery of Melk and who wrote powerful satires. 'The rich man', he says, 'is noble and the guest of princes. He is wise, strong, beautiful and sly, and he is praised in all countries. The poor man, however, is despised everywhere'. All classes are blinded by the greed for wealth, especially the clergy. Yet he deprecates the striving of subjects for freedom and a life as they please. This anticipates Milton's: 'License they mean when they cry Liberty'.

But also the clergy were severely censured, especially the prelates. Even ecclesiastical writers blamed the depraved clergymen who committed simony, indulged in sexual licence and avarice and favoured the rich at the expense of the poor. A poem declared that those who sold the Eucharist for a penny were worse than Judas. Some writers, however, warned against attacking the priesthood as an institution. Another class which attracted much criticism were judges and lawyers, who were accused of venality. Many of the minstrels also attacked princes; they reminded them that they were human beings like other men, they castigated them for protecting robber knights or tolerating venal judges. Reimar of Zweter, a Rhenish knight brought up in Austria, who lived at various courts, wrote the proud words: 'There was never an emperor or king so high that he could protect himself against thought and criticism'. He also said that if Christ would reappear nowadays he would be

treated just as shamefully as he had been in his time. He addressed the Antichrist: 'Why do you hesitate to come? You would find plenty of supporters among princes, counts, freemen and knights'.

In spite of the abundance of social criticism, however, almost all authors stood for the maintenance of the existing social order and believed that its faults could be mended if everybody stayed in his class and fulfilled the duties connected with it. The serfs are often promised compensation for their hard lot in life beyond death. Others, like Thomasin, point out that the poor are happier than the rich, who have great worries on account of their wealth. Still others find that the poor have the general human vices, especially greed for wealth. If they rise to a higher position they become the worst in exploiting the poor.

The poet called Stricker, a man of middle-class origin, who lived in Austria, was a splendid writer of chivalrous, didactic and humoristic literature. In later life he devoted himself, as he says, to making known among the people the misdeeds of the nobles. The Dukes of Austria then took energetic steps to protect the people against the lords. Stricker warns the nobles against building castles among the peasants with a view to oppressing and robbing them. The peasants would complain to the Duke, and, moreover, they are so strong that they cannot be kept down by force. They can destroy any castle however strongly fortified and have done so in several cases. But he also deplors the decline of the imperial power, which has made the nobles too powerful to the detriment of the people. The nobles have arranged it so that the Emperor can do nothing against their will. The ruling classes are wicked, and the poor imitate them and are only interested in material gain. Another author, in a poem 'The Lion's Share', warns the poor against ever trusting the rich and powerful. They will always be deceived. The equality of men is passionately stressed in the poems of Henry of Hesler, a Teutonic knight. All men are descended from Adam and Eve. The oppression of the peasants is violently denounced. The only exceptions are the Jews, whom the author regards as an unclean and hostile people.

In Flanders, a country of Low-German speech, but outside Germany, the rise of industries led to strong social unrest. Jacob van Maerland, one of the greatest Flemish poets of the thirteenth century, condemned private property and serfdom and advocated communism and freedom for all.

A humorous fable, written in Austria, tells of the King of the

Birds, the Wren, who fears for the maintenance of his realm and convokes a parliament of his subjects to ask their advice. More than fifty of them appear, but there are two parties, one advocating a policy of justice, honesty and benevolence, and the other one of violence, robbery and egoism. The speakers from the two parties alternate, and the Kingfisher at last comes to the conclusion that there is no hope left for the honour of the realm.

A writer, known as Seifried Helbling, who lived at the beginning of the reign of Rudolph of Habsburg, at Vienna and probably was a small knight, shows himself an ardent Austrian patriot who deplores the intrusion of foreign customs and parlance in Austria, not only from Bohemia, Hungary and Italy, but also from Swabia, Saxony, Thuringia and Hessa. This seems to indicate that a sense of Austrian nationality was nascent. He is further indignant that the nobles at the court are imbued with a mean commercial spirit. They are talking only of how they could make their cows give more milk and how to sell their agricultural products at a good price. The peasants live like knights, they intermarry with them and, by means of money, rise to their rank. But Seifried also shows deep sympathy with peasants who are suffering under violence when feuds are devastating the country.

In the later thirteenth century Hugo of Trimberg began to write. His principal book *The Runner* was finished in 1300. It has about twenty-five thousand verses and is concerned with castigating the vices of the time, in particular those of the upper classes. Hugo was a poor schoolmaster, he possessed considerable learning and his outlook was oldfashioned and conservative but humanitarian. In ethics he clung to Augustine, his view of the time was very gloomy and he expected the imminent advent of the Antichrist. His thought shows also the influence of mysticism, which at that time was gaining ground. Hugo had deep sympathies with the poor and oppressed and he, therefore, did not wish to stress their sins but concentrated his criticism on those of the nobility, the clergy, the lawyers and the rich. Few merchants get rich by honest means. The Jews are treated with comparative tolerance. Yet Hugo is no revolutionary or radical reformer. Like Stricker, Helbling and many other writers he thinks that everybody should be content with remaining in his rank and station. All classes should feel as brothers and treat their possessions as common. He sharply attacks the avarice of Rome, but he places the Pope higher than the Emperor. Ten

years without a king would be less bad than one year without a Pope.

Hugo of Trimberg's work seems to have much appealed to the mind of his time and later generations. It lived through centuries and numerous copies of it were preserved. Its background was the intense antagonism of classes and ranks which was brewing and which was soon to lead to a war of all against all.

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OPINIONS ON THE DECLINE OF THE EMPIRE

THE decline of the Empire through the collapse of the Hohenstaufen policy was discussed by several writers, whose ideas shed light on public opinion of the time. Among them was Alexander of Roes, a canon of a church in Cologne who later lived in Italy in the service of Cardinal Jacob Colonna, the head of the Ghibelin—pro-German—party at the Papal court and the patron of the spiritual section of the Minorites. Alexander did not play a prominent role in the Church, but as a writer he combines realism with mystical leanings and shows considerable literary talent. The background of his writings was the nascent rivalry between France and Germany. France was on the point of making the Papacy a permanent organ of her striving for world supremacy, which she enjoyed already in the field of learning. Sections of French opinion further tended to claim also the Imperial crown for France, or world domination without this crown, or sought at least to undermine the German Emperorship. During the Interregnum the idea was suggested to divide the Empire into a number of realms, to separate the Italian and French parts from Germany, though perhaps under a vague Imperial overlordship, and to make the German crown hereditary. It was voiced in the interests of the Pope and France, but retrospectively it may be asked whether its realisation would in the long run have not been in the greatest interest of Germany, too. But the suggestion did not lead to a practical political programme and would probably have met insuperable obstacles. Alexander was deeply disturbed by such plans which were in the air and he tried to counteract them.

Alexander's first tract on the Prerogatives of the Empire was

written in 1281. The French Pope Martin IV had just come to the throne, and Alexander wrote the book because he was deeply worried by the signs of the time. He had recently found that in missals used in Roman churches the traditional prayer for the Emperor had been expunged—a significant symptom of hostility to the Empire. But in his view the Church could not exist without the Empire. In order to prove this he first reproduces a short treatise by his older friend Jordanus of Osnabrueck and then takes up the argumentation himself. Christ has recognised the Empire and has taught obedience to it. When the Empire falls, the Antichrist will appear and a time of frightful tribulations will set in. It must deeply be deplored that the Germans, and in particular the princes, are lacking the insight and the justice to realise the significance of the world empire—they even weaken its power by usurping its rights and possessions. Alexander then disputes both the papal theory that the Germans have received the Imperial crown and the right of electing the Emperor from the Pope as well as the French claims that Charlemagne was a Frenchman and France his legitimate heiress. To this purpose he puts forward historical arguments of an equally mythical character, such as the Maternus legend, the common descent of the Romans and Franks from Trojan heroes, Caesar's German conquests, Charlemagne's descent from Greek, Roman and Frankish forbears, and so on. The true successors of Charlemagne and the Franks are the Germans.

Alexander's most original idea, however, was that each of the three principal nations, namely the Italians, the Germans and the French, have a special mission in the service of Christianity and an inborn national character enabling them to fulfil it. The Romans have first exercised decisive influence on the destiny of Christianity and, therefore, are the oldest nation. They have received by God's dispensation the leadership of the Church, or the Papacy. Then came the Germans and were granted the leadership in temporal or political matters, or the Emperorship. The French as the latest or youngest nation received the leadership in the intellectual sphere, or Learning. Charlemagne has laid this down and has also ordained the election of the Emperor by the German princes and that the French should have a hereditary King and full political independence.

The French, however, contend that the Germans are a rude people not fitted for the Empire, while they themselves are the most excellent of men. Alexander answers by a pun playing upon the word Gallus, which means both Gaul and cock. The

French have, indeed, many faculties in common with this bird, they are both arrogant, noisy, voluptuous and fickle, they both have a fine garb, are audacious, gay, polite and frank, and both are also prudent, indefatigable, early risers and good rulers of their folk, as the good and efficient French bishops show. In another place Alexander compares the French and the Germans. In bodily appearance they are much alike, but the French, like young people, lay more stress on fine clothes, tournaments, singing, dressing their hair, etc., while the Germans as the elder people like serious things, such as fighting and war, in which they resemble their relatives, the Romans.

Christianity is compared to an organism. The Italians possess the Papacy, which is its soul, the Germans have the Emperorship, which is its strong arm ready to defend it with the sword, and the French own the University of Paris, which is its intelligence able to defend it by arguments. Alexander further gives a survey of the dynasties that have worn the Imperial Crown. His narration is marked by great historical confusion and by bias against the Hohenstaufens. Frederick I, it is said, has perhaps obtained his election by bribes or unworthy machinations, in his reign little or nothing has been done with full consent and support of the princes, and the Empire has been exclusively governed with the help of the Southern Germans, the Swabians and Bavarians, so that even the name Germany has been replaced by that of Alemannia, meaning the realm of the Alemans or Swabians. Power and prestige of the Empire have under the Swabian Emperors more and more declined. The author leaves it to the Guelfs and Ghibelins to argue this question. Among the German people a prophecy is widely believed that a descendant of Frederick II of the same name would inflict the greatest humiliation on the German clergy and the Roman Church, and another that an Emperor Charles, of Charlemagne's blood and from the French dynasty, would become the monarch of the whole of Europe, would then reform Church and Empire, but would be the last Emperor. Everybody may believe these prophecies or not; anyhow, he, Alexander, praises God's grace which has given Germany a King in Rudolph of Habsburg who has already achieved glorious exploits. He further admits that each of the three leading nations has often failed to carry out its mission in a proper way. We must put up with such minor faults, which are due to human weakness. The Germans should not boast of their possession of the Roman Empire, as it was brought about by God's dispensation and the blood of the ancestors. The present

Germans with their arrogance and indifference would hardly have achieved it.

Why did Alexander of Roes harbour such bitterness towards the Hohenstaufens, in particular Frederick Barbarossa? The cause can neither have been papalism, since he is critical of papal policy, nor Saxon or North German particularism, since he condemns the Saxon Henry the Lion and hails the Swabian Rudolph of Habsburg. The argument that the Hohenstaufens ignored the advice of the princes is in contradiction to the facts, unless Alexander means that the princes were against Frederick's Italian policy. The key to Alexander's attitude is his enthusiasm for Rudolph of Habsburg. This King held the Emperorship in high esteem but was not willing to undertake great campaigns in order to make conquests in Italy and had even given up claims of the Empire there in order to maintain good relations with the Pope.

Another tract by Alexander entitled *Notitia Seculi* was written in 1288. It gives meditations on the time and the advent of the Antichrist and shows itself much impressed by a mystical book correlating the letters of the alphabet with the spirit of successive periods. The author also repeats his thesis that normally the Pope should be an Italian, the Emperor a German and that the French should enjoy the primacy in learning. He now tries to give his thesis a sociological basis. Each of the three nations has a prevalent character, which is correlated with a class playing the predominant part within it and shaping the ethos of the others, too. The Italians love economic gain and the decisive class with them are the people—by which he obviously means the burghers. The Germans have the love of ruling—hence their leaders are the nobles. The French nation is inspired by the love of learning, accordingly their guiding class is the clergy. Now each nation exhibits good, bad and indifferent tendencies. The Italians are sober, discreet, patient and clever, but also avaricious, covetous, jealous and spiteful. The Germans exhibit magnanimity, a free mind, energy against villainy and pity with the miserable, but also cruelty, rapacity, awkwardness and discord. Lastly the French show the sense of justice and moderation, concord, knowledge of the world, but also vanity, sumptuousness, noisiness, loquacity, fickleness and self-love. In these statements, admits Alexander, is a certain overgeneralisation. In each nation sometime this feature prevails, and sometime another. But since the evil tendencies in man are usually stronger than the good, it is the former which are conspicuous in the national

character. The French have recently assumed traits otherwise characteristic of the Germans, namely a warlike, hard and rapacious mind, and have, therefore been humiliated by Aragon and the Sicilian Vespers. Every people should be governed according to its character, but Pope Martin has from love of his people tried to rule the world in the French manner and thereby plunged the whole Church into disorder. Alexander repeats that the Emperor should be a German nobleman, though this was not absolutely necessary. His ideal is Charlemagne and he argues against the French that he was a German.

The author further enters into speculations on the time when the Antichrist is due. The Pope will perhaps with French aid annihilate the Empire, and with it the Church and Learning will go down. The Antichrist will probably appear in the course of the fifteenth century, after a period of much anarchy and heresy. Towards its close the Last Judgment is to be expected. But again the author leaves it to everybody to have his own opinion on these matters.

Between these two tracts Alexander wrote a satirical play in verses entitled *The Peacock*. It is a parody of the Council of Lyons in 1245, when the Pope deposed Emperor Frederick II. In the play the various ranks and nations are represented by birds—the Pope by the peacock, the Emperor by the eagle, the French King by the cock, and so on. The peacock, with the help of the cock, deposes the eagle, but the consequences are anarchy and the rise of many small tyrants. The play is witty and well written.

Alexander's writings contain many further interesting observations, and H. Heimpel in a subtle analysis of his thought has given a penetrating interpretation of his attitude. He appears as a rather conservative thinker whose ideal of the Empire is not that of the Hohenstaufens but that of Charlemagne and Otto I. In his view the Emperorship is not domination but a service to Christianity. A hereditary German kingship seems to him a menace to the Empire and to the German tradition. Germany is dominated by the ethos of the noble warrior, Italy by that of the capitalist, and France by that of the scholar, who then was almost identical with a cleric, but who was soon to assume the traits of the intellectual. This sociological typology and its psychological implications sound surprisingly modern. Alexander's writings were in his time little known but aroused great interest in the epoch of the great councils one and a half centuries later. Dietrich of Niem already esteemed them highly,

and they were particularly appreciated by the men of the Council of Basle and later by the early Humanists. From these later times more than seventy copies of these tracts are known, and in the sixteenth century they were repeatedly published.

A standpoint detached from tradition and much nearer to modern standards in judging the Empire was taken by Engelbert of Admont. He was a scholar of very wide cultural interests and accomplishments who, in 1297, became Abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Admont in Upper Styria. A *Mirror of Princes* dedicated to the sons of Albrecht I sees the ideal in a harmonious life to be achieved by wise moderation. Another book treats the art of government, closely following Aristotle. The earlier Middle Ages had adopted Augustine's doctrine that the aim of the State was to form, together with the Church, the Christian community for the realisation of the City of God. Aristotle, however, conceived the State and the other communities as means to realise Man's natural striving for a social and happy life which required the harmonious development of all human forces, especially of reason. Engelbert of Admont was so imbued with Aristotle's thought that his tracts on politics show no specific Christian elements and contain almost no quotation from the Bible. God is only the indirect originator of the State, he had made Man and endowed him with certain faculties, but then let him act according to his nature. The State is the outcome of a contract in which the people have transferred the power of governance to a person possessing the reason necessary for this purpose. But the ruler can neither be dismissed by the people, nor has he arbitrary power over the latter. Orders of the prince must not be contrary to the aims of the contract. A ruler misusing his power is a tyrant who can be deposed, though Engelbert does not say how this may be done. He further discusses four types of State. Monarchy is based on reason, aristocracy on virtue understood in the Aristotelian sense of superior attainments, oligarchy on power, especially that of money, and democracy on freedom. Like Aristotle the author sees little good in democracy. It easily becomes anarchy, particularly when the impetuous and easily changeable youth gains preponderant influence. Every constitutional type obviously has its virtues and vices, and it seems that Engelbert long doubts whether there is an ideal form of the State at all. At last he comes to the conclusion that monarchy is after all the best, as it is most open to reason. But when it degenerates to tyranny it becomes the worst of all. He adds, however, that few princes correspond to the ideal of a

ruler. Good princes strive for justice and peace, less good ones for honour and bad ones for their own pleasure. Much depends in a state on the equilibrium among six classes: the peasants, artisans, merchants, warriors, nobles and clergymen. None should be neglected or unduly preferred. The most common view in the Middle Ages was that there were three estates: the clergy as mediators with God, the nobles as rulers and warriors, and the peasants as tillers of the soil. It is clear that Engelbert's view of six equally important estates, of which three belong to the middle or lower classes, implies momentous consequences. He also advises the ruler to let the people and the nobles take part in affairs of State, but does not say in what way. His sympathy is obviously with the propertied middle class and he stresses that property implies the obligation of helping others.

Engelbert further wrote a book on the Empire. He relates that he was sitting together with friends talking on the state of the Empire. Some thought that its end must be near, and it was remarked that as the Empire had begun with illicit and unjust conquest of other peoples so it now must fall through foreign aggression. At the request of his friends he wrote down his ideas in which he tries to combine the spirit of Augustine with that of Aristotle. The establishment of State power originally had a just aim, but later the State degenerated through the striving for unjust domination. The aim of all kingdoms is happiness, which some men see in virtue, others in pleasure. The felicity of a kingdom consists in freedom from want, trouble and fear, or in sufficiency, tranquillity and security, all of which are included in the term Peace. Justice, too, is necessary if a realm is to be more than a robber's den. Now the question arises, whether a large or a small State is preferable. A small one is mostly lacking sufficiency of resources and security against aggression. If a small State, however, can in these respects stand on its own feet, it would be better to have a small and quiet realm than a big and unhealthy one. The justice of a government depends on how it has acquired its power and on the quality of the administration. The aim of all communities is peace and, coming back to the Roman Empire, we must ask whether this aim is best attained in a world monarchy or in a number of independent realms.

The main argument for universal monarchy is that it strives to bring about a greater unity among mankind. The common weal stands above the interests of individuals, and in the same way the interests of a wider community have priority over the interests of smaller units. A universal empire aims at the welfare

of all peoples. A people, however, is not merely a multitude of men, but according to Cicero's definition adopted by Augustine a multitude associated by the consensus in divine and human law. This law is laid down in the Christian faith, and, therefore, the whole of Christianity forms one people and one empire above all differences of race, language and law. The Empire is necessary to preserve concord in the world, and God, therefore, has arranged a succession of world empires. Against a universal empire it is argued that the greater the empire the more it is troubled by wars and rebellions, while smaller realms are more peaceful. It is further said that, in view of all the differences of race and language, manners and laws, there cannot be one king over all peoples. The Roman Empire has already in certain cases withdrawn its frontiers, and many kingdoms now claim to be independent. Why should not all realms have the same independence?

In reply to these objections Engelbert makes it clear that his idea of the Empire is not that of an ordinary state, but means a supra-national organisation in a monarchical form designed to maintain peace and concord among the Christian people, to defend it against its enemies and to propagate the Christian faith. If it is not always possible to secure peace, owing to human imperfections, one must at least do one's best to maintain it. Some kingdoms, like France, may be exempt from the Empire by special privileges, but a general secession would be disastrous and lead to the reign of the Antichrist. The objection regarding national differences does not apply to the Emperor, who is only concerned with the natural law common to all peoples and with those parts of the Roman law applicable to all. The office of Emperor, according to Engelbert's ideas, would imply leadership in common enterprises of all Christian nations, such as a crusade or the defence of the Church, the position of arbitrator between nations and the duty to protect the natural law, also against non-Christians. Engelbert thinks that the Empire had reached its peak under Augustus when Christ was born. Since that time it has continually gone down. All the exploits of Frankish and German Emperors, therefore, mean little to him. He also envisages a progressive further disintegration of the Empire and its eventual end, when the time will be ripe for the advent of the Antichrist. The increasing faults of rulers and peoples, and of the clergy, too, are evil omens. Engelbert believes in a last Emperor of Frankish origin who will have to fight all the forces of unbelief. But unlike other versions of this vision he does not

believe that he will be victorious. He will fail to overcome the infidels, will lay down his crown and die. Then the Antichrist will appear.

Engelbert leaves aside many points on which others had laid the main stress. He does not discuss whether the Pope or the emperor is supreme, or how their powers are related to one another. Nor does he expressly claim the Emperorship for the Germans or try to exclude other nations. He admits that most European States have independence on the ground of special privileges. His ideal has not much resemblance to the Empire of the German Kings and his opinion of their doings shows that he was aware of it. The Empire which he had in mind was neither derived from the doctrines of Augustine nor from those of Aristotle, though he made use of their ideas. It resembles more the dream of a republic of mankind of the old Stoic philosophers which Cicero had cherished, or the modern dream of a League of Nations. Though modern nationalism was only in its beginning he seems to have anticipated its effects. His ideal has much in common with the world monarchy which Dante shortly later praised and the realisation of which he expected from the German kings. In Italy the breakdown of the imperial power had in almost all cities led to the rise of ruthless dictators, widely known as tyrants. The longing for its revival was, therefore, wide-spread among Italian patriots, and most of them wanted to give it a distinctly Roman character. The professors and practitioners of the Roman law were particularly keen in defending the rights of the emperor to universal dominion. In the fourteenth century the school of the Post-Glossators arose, whose greatest and most famous representative was Bartolus of Sassoferato. He maintained in his writings that the Roman emperor was legally the Lord of the World, though *de facto* he was not universally obeyed. The Empire was conterminous with Western Christianity. Bartolus regards all Christians as brothers and Rome as their common fatherland. Those who dispute this thesis commit a sacrilege and possible heresy. About the same time in France the royal legist Pierre Dubois elaborated plans of a federation of all Christian rulers, of an international court for the maintenance of peace and of a common crusade. Since France was then much farther on the road towards a national State than Germany, Dubois' plans exhibit also a strong element of French nationalism and the striving for France's aggrandisement at the expense of other powers and for world supremacy. He justifies this claim with the reasonable temper and sound

judgment of the French due to the favourable climate of the country and to reasons of astrology.

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Regarding Jordanus v. Osnabrueck and Alexander v. Roes, cf. Heimpel in Archiv. f. Kulturg., 35; Schraub, 10; Wilhelm in Mitteilungen d. oesterr. Instituts, 98 and 03; and in the same journal Mulder, 09; and Hirsch, 25; Kelsen, Staatslehre Dantes, 05; Conrad, Radbruch and others, Dantes Staatslehre, 46; Woolf, Bartolus of Sassoferrato, 13; Ullman, Medieval Papalism, 40; Posch, staats- u. kirchenpol. Stellung Engelberts v. Admonts, 20.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND COLONISATION

THE age of the Hohenstaufens to a great extent coincided with momentous social changes and a wide expansion of Germany by colonisation, though the emperors themselves had no great share in these events. They were primarily the outcome of general tendencies of the time, especially the progress of social differentiation and a money economy, and of the striving for freedom and wealth.

Agricultural production was mainly organised in the manorial system, under which a lord had his land cultivated by peasants who owed him rents, fees or services. He usually had also certain rights of justice and administration over them, but owed them assistance should they fall into misfortune. In the early Middle Ages numerous free men placed themselves under the power of a lord; partly of their own will, partly under compulsion or to escape vexations and, in particular, to obtain freedom from military service. They thereby obtained the protection which the State was not able to afford. In a Bavarian charter of ca. 1180 a free man, Eberhard, transferred himself 'from servile freedom to free servitude'—a very characteristic phrase. While in this way many free peasants sank to a status of half-freedom, at the same time the lowest class of unfree people, who originally had had no rights at all, ascended to a higher status within serfdom.

The possessions of a lord were mostly scattered in small farms, and groups of them were under a steward, who had some land cultivated under his own management by means of compulsory services and collected the dues from the serfs on the outlying farms. This way of administration was not very remunerative, since compulsory labour was often not careful and efficient and

the stewards cared more for their own interests than for those of their lords. Moreover, the stewards sought to convert their posts into hereditary fiefs and to make themselves as independent as possible. They were of unfree status but belonged to the administrative and military organs of the lords, known as ministerials, and many of them ascended to the rank of knights. The lords mostly reacted by dissolving the old manorial organisation. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the farms managed by the stewards were often let to them as tenants, or to others; the compulsory services became largely superfluous, and the lords increasingly became merely receivers of rents and fees, partly in kind, partly in money, or also of a fixed part of the crops. Servitude dwindled to a great extent to the obligation to pay certain fees, and the leases of the peasants, which customarily had become hereditary, now were often fixed for a certain time, though in most cases they were renewed when they had come to an end. This explains why the peasants were not always pleased with their liberation from the former serfdom with its compulsory labour.

Most lords exercised also functions of a public nature which, in our time, are mostly incumbent upon the State and paid out of taxes. The most important office was that of owner of a public court of justice. It entitled the lord to raise taxes, and in the later Middle Ages many lords used it to rise to territorial rulership. Many peasants, therefore, had not merely to pay rent for their land and fees for permits in case of marriage, transfer of the farm, change of residence, etc., but also tithes, poll-tax and other charges. Certain compulsory services, too, often survived or were newly introduced by the owners of the courts of justice; for example obligations of transport, road-building, and so on. The total burden of the peasants showed the greatest variations. Lucky ones had only to pay very small amounts, others were grievously overburdened.

Freedom and serfdom existed in countless variations, and a man called a *Dienstmann* (servitor) or an *Eigenmann* (serf) might, in fact, be much freer than another designated as free. We have already mentioned the ministerials, who rose to the rank of a new nobility and of whom many obtained the highest dignities, though they were legally still unfree. But also many peasants who had not the status of freemen had rights which, in our time, would be considered signs of liberty. The serfs sat in the manorial courts, which were entitled to judge claims of the lords on the ground of old customs and, in other ways, too, had a share

in the administration of justice. Territorial diets rose since the fourteenth century and the peasants were sometimes represented in them. Legally unfree men can be found as deputies in these parliamentary assemblies, for example in Wurttemberg and the Tyrol. The obligations of serfdom were considered the equivalent for the use of the lord's soil, or that for his protection. It was not a proprietary right, such as the possession of a slave, though the term *Eigenmann* (proprietary man) suggested this. The Middle Ages, however, did not sharply distinguish between private and public rights, and even justice was often regarded as proprietary. It is natural that this led to great abuses and much oppression.

The relations of the peasantry to the lord, and also among themselves were regulated in great detail by customary rules, called *Weistuermer*, which since the eleventh century were often put down in writing. Both the peasants and the lords contributed to the growth of these customaries. Stolz points out that in the Austrian *Weistuermer* only five and a half per cent of the regulations were in the interests of the lords and eighty-three per cent. wholly or partly in the public interest.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a great proportion of the serfs considerably improved their position advancing towards freedom and prosperity. The increase in demand, especially by the growth of the towns, and the rise in the output of silver, made agricultural prices and productivity go up, while many rents, which had been fixed remained the same or lagged behind. Numerous peasants became rich and their lords were often glad to sell them their freedom from manorial rights for cash. In other cases the rights were maintained but became nominal only.

An important cause of the rise of the peasants was the fact that wide tracts of waste land, especially in mountainous or marshy regions, were settled and taken into cultivation. The monasteries were the pioneers in this work, originally for reasons of asceticism. The Cistercians made it a principle to found new abbeys in the wilderness, especially in swampy valleys, in order to escape contact with the world and to have an opportunity for hard labour. Every monk had to take part in it, even the abbot, and the work was done in strict silence. The Premonstratensians, too, did much to encourage and extend the cultivation of the soil, partly by means of lay-brothers. But also great nobles favoured settlements on parts of their lands which had hitherto never been utilised for agriculture. This was an arduous task, and workers could be attracted only by the grant of freedom,

low rents and secure tenures. The monasteries were often ahead in treating the serfs well, and this compelled the lords to follow suit. Many serfs flocked into the towns, with or without permission of their lords, and after having stayed there for a year and a day without having been reclaimed by their lord, they were considered free. The Church in many ways encouraged the alleviation of the burdens of serfdom, which was regarded as an act of piety, but she was usually not in favour of complete freedom and believed that a patriarchal tutelage was best for the peasants.

The social position of the peasants was reflected in changes in the right to wear arms. This right was considered an honour and a sign of freedom and underwent many variations, which H. Fehr has traced. The trend was that the peasants lost the right to wear certain arms regarded as a privilege of the knights and, on the other hand, were placed under special protection against violence. Yet the peasants had to possess some arms, because it was their duty to act as police against breakers of the peace. They had to pursue obvious murderers, and if a knight committed robberies the local judge called up the peasants who had to arrest him and, if necessary, to besiege and destroy his castle. The great Land-Peace of 1235 and the law-books of the time make no difference between the peasants and other ranks in regard to the wearing of arms.

The poetic literature gives many illustrations of peasant life, in particular for Bavaria and Austria, where the strong hand of the Dukes maintained internal peace and a reign of law. The novel *Ruodlieb* (eleventh century) describes a village with many rich peasants, who can easily provide quarter for a count with a hundred men, while even the poorer ones can harbour two knights with their squires and horses. In South German poems of the thirteenth century the peasants are pictured as well-to-do farmers, self-confident, proud, and often overbearing. Many of the younger ones want to rival the knights; they wear swords and armour like the knights and ape their customs. Knights marry the daughters of rich peasants, and the latter's sons wed the daughters of knights.

The favourable position attained in the thirteenth century, however, was in many territories not preserved for good. The factors which in the later Middle Ages were to depress the status of many peasants again were the awful internal insecurity, the formation of territorial governments, which tended to lay new burdens on the peasants and to restrict their rights to the commons

and forests, the increasing influence of the nobles on the governments by means of the development of territorial diets and the deterioration of the ethos of many nobles owing to the weakening of the royal power.

Germany's social structure and public mentality was further transformed by the rise of towns and of trade on a much greater scale than before. Most towns arose under the protection of a fortified residence of a bishop, a royal palsgrave, or another powerful noble. These strongholds were usually situated on rivers or cross-roads, which were much frequented and offered openings for trade. In contrast with the open country, the nascent towns were havens of security. Privileges granted by Otto I and his successors invested the bishops with great powers of administration, which in most cases were wisely used and resulted in a marvellous development. The towns ruled by bishops became the models for the others. Up to the twelfth century nine tenths of the market privileges of the kings were given to the Church. The administration was mainly managed by the bishop's ministerials, who formed a body of officials remunerated by a share in the fees, tolls, etc. They soon became so powerful that the bishop required their consent for important decisions and sometimes was faced with their fierce opposition. Later they received their posts as hereditary fiefs and assumed the character of an aristocracy exercising public rights in a proprietary way. The inhabitants of the towns owed the bishop feudal services and dues.

Since the eleventh century merchants engaged in foreign trade increasingly gained in importance. They travelled in escorted caravans, saw many countries and acquired an outlook more progressive than the parochialism of the great majority. The nobles bought from them oriental spices, silks, Russian furs and other luxuries. Frisian cloth was exchanged for Rhenish wine. Many merchants became rich, they established in suitable towns a fixed residence and storehouses and acquired there the best sites. They soon formed the most influential class which was the driving force in the early development of urban self-government. Their organisation in guilds fostered solidarity and gave them power.

A class of artisans further formed itself, partly out of the servile and free craftsmen employed on the bishop's manor, partly through immigration of serfs from the villages. The artisans, too, formed organisations, the trade guilds (*Zuenfte*), which mainly aimed at regulating trade conditions but also had religious, social and military purposes. The guilds of the arti-

sans primarily aimed at securing to their members the local monopoly in their trade and devised many measures to suppress competition; they further laid great stress upon maintaining equality among their members. Everybody was to earn a decent living but not surpass any other fellow member. To this purpose the number of workers, the amount of raw materials and machines, and the quality and prices of the goods were strictly controlled.

In the twelfth century, under Henry IV, a movement began to develop against the bishops who ruled the towns. Its aim was the abolition of the feudal dues and services and, lastly, the winning of rights of self-government. The leaders were the rich merchants. Soon a great revolutionary movement was operating in many towns. Full success was reached in the thirteenth century, when self-government by town councils was achieved. This success was partly brought about by force, partly by peaceable means, especially by purchase of single rights of government from the bishops. The emperors often supported the towns against the bishops by the grant of charters, but sometimes they needed the bishops' help for their general policy and could obtain it only at the expense of the towns. Many dynasties were eager to found new towns and endowed them with valuable liberties. The privileges granted by Conrad of Zaehringen at the foundation of Freiburg (1120) were a landmark in the development of civil liberty. Its course cannot be followed here because it showed so many local peculiarities and frequent changes. Strassburg alone had more than twelve changes of her constitution in the course of hardly one century. The main achievement, however, was the replacement of the obsolete Teutonic institutions, such as ordeal in battle, and of feudal privileges by laws in accordance with the interests and the ideas of the burghers. The idea that the State had to care for the welfare of the community first developed here.

The power over the towns passed from the bishops and other lords mainly to an urban oligarchy of patrician families descended partly from the ministerials, partly from rich merchants. Their rule brought the towns many progressive institutions and great wealth and splendour. Yet it was often corrupt and arbitrary, and it was natural that the middle class of craftsmen organised in their guilds demanded reforms of the constitution and control of the finances. In the fourteenth century the South German towns were shaken by many uprisings and struggles resulting in the setting-up of democratic regimes or in

compromises between the democrats and the patricians. Beneath the middle class a considerable proletariat was developing. Many towns gradually reached almost republican independence, but they were faced with many external enemies and rivals, and were often weakened by internal social struggles.

The number of towns was in the ninth century approximately forty, it rose in the tenth century to ninety, in the eleventh to one hundred and forty, and in the twelfth to two hundred and fifty. In the thirteenth century the number increased to over two thousand, and in the later middle ages attained about three thousand. But the great majority of them was very small, and the burghers had farms within and without the town walls. The criterion of a town was the possession of a town law securing to it a market, autonomy, non-feudal justice and the right of fortifying itself by a wall and a moat.

The rise of the peasantry and of the towns in Germany was further closely connected with a great expansion of the soil settled by Germans in the East. On the Danube and in the Alps the decisive defeat of the Hungarians in the tenth century made it possible to re-settle the lands which they had ravaged and depopulated. Austria, Styria and Carinthia, in particular, were colonised by Bavarian immigrants. The Slavs, who in less accessible places had survived the onslaughts of the Hungarians, became Germans without any resistance. On the Main, too, the Slavs quietly changed their language and customs.

The North-East was inhabited by many small tribes of Slavs. They were heathen and had mostly a civilisation comparable to that of the Germanic peoples at the time of Caesar more than a thousand years earlier. This was due to the extremely unfavourable environment. The country was covered with huge marshes and woods, and the soil was either barren, or waterlogged or too heavy for the simple wooden implements of the inhabitants. It had before the advent of the Slavs been inhabited by Germanic tribes who had left it because of its infertile nature. Some of the heathen Slavs, however, who were seafarers, later reached a considerable level of civilisation as Adam of Bremen's description of the town Julin shows. Early contacts between Germans and Slavs consisted in ruthless frontier wars and a little trade, later in missionary activities, and in the subjection of Slav territories to German princes. In the tenth century vigorous Slav leaders formed two larger States, Bohemia and Poland who adopted Christianity. They were rivals and often weakened by fierce internal strife. Both became vassal states

of the Empire, but Poland soon emancipated herself, partly by playing off the Pope against the emperor. On the whole the emperors were too occupied elsewhere to undertake a great policy of aggrandisement in the North-East, and the nature of the land was a great obstacle.

In the early twelfth century, however, a great migration set in to the North-East. The pioneers were Dutch, Flemish and other Low German farmers who were looking for new soil where they might practise their special skill in draining and cultivating marshes. They applied to Saxon bishops and princes for land and received it. The venture was so successful that ever more lords offered land to immigrants on favourable terms. Soon people from all parts of Germany flocked to the plains on the lower Elbe and Oder, and to other uncultivated parts in the North-East. The prospects of personal freedom from feudal burdens and of ample soil on which hard work promised rich reward were strong incentives. The Premonstratensian and Cistercian monks who were specialists in great drainage operations and experts in progressive agriculture much contributed to the success.

The immigrants settled as free farmers on good terms of tenure, and they did not deprive the Slavs of their land. It was usually waste land which was taken into cultivation. Later Tartars and Mongolians invaded large parts of eastern Europe and large regions were left by them completely devastated and empty of inhabitants. German colonists were then called to re-settle them. Many non-German rulers, too, among them Bohemian, Polish and Hungarian kings, were eager to receive German peasants, artisans, miners and traders in order to develop the resources of their realms. In these countries all the towns were founded by Germans, they received the right of self-government according to German law, and many retained their German character until recent times. The great wave of colonisation came to an end in the fourteenth century when Germany was afflicted by the Black Death and her rural surplus of population was attracted by the towns. But many smaller expeditions of German settlers and a constant infiltration of individuals followed.

Merchant adventurers, too, had a great share in the colonisation of the East. They founded a chain of towns along the Baltic and controlled the trade with Scandinavia and Russia. The centre was Luebeck, which became the first Imperial Town by a privilege of Frederick II (1226). At the end of the thirteenth century German merchants dominated international trade from

London and Flanders to Novgorod, near the present Leningrad. The great Hanse League was already in being, though it had not yet reached its final form.

The German expansion and colonisation has greatly extended the living space of the German people. The Slavs were affected by it in various ways. The subjection of Slav tribes by German nobles often deteriorated their status. But the adoption of Christianity protected them against the worst and led to the abolition of grave evils such as slavery. The settlement of German farmers, artisans and traders had great advantages for the Slavs also. They learnt many new techniques as the fact shows that the Slav names of trades are often of German origin just as many German words come from Latin roots, indicating what the forefathers of the Germans had learned from the Romans. Before the German immigration already many Slav rulers had adopted Christianity, had married women from German noble houses and introduced reforms with the help of German advisers. Now this influx of a higher civilisation greatly increased. The personal status and terms of tenure of Slav peasants were often favourably influenced by the more liberal German conditions. German law spread over a very wide area in the East, and the German language became the general means of communication in trade and commerce. The Empire comprised a number of princes and numerous noble houses of Slav origin who had gradually become Germans. Many of the most famous Junker families like the Moltkes, Buclows and Luetzows were originally Slavs. The idea, therefore, that the Germans as a whole regarded the Slavs as an inferior race is not true. Even emperors married Slav women and wedded their daughters to Slav princes. It is true, however, that the German middle class in the towns largely kept aloof from Slavs, did not admit them to trade guilds and honourable posts, and looked down upon them. But these sections despised the lower classes of Germans too. The trade guilds always tried to exclude from competition whole classes, whether German or Slav, under the pretext that they were not respectable. Likewise, in our own time the power of organised labour has not only created a colour bar against coloured workers, but also laws excluding all foreigners from employment, except by special permission. The German language was not imposed upon Slavs by the governments but was accepted by them spontaneously because it opened the road to a higher standard of life and to civilisation. A close parallel was the expansion of English at the expense of the Celtic tongues

in the British Isles. In many German territories, however, Slav remained the vernacular until the Reformation and the spread of popular education exercised a Germanising influence.

The conquest, Christianisation and colonisation of Prussia is a case which demands a separate treatment. The old Prussians belonged to the Lithuanian section of the Baltic peoples and they consisted of many small tribes fiercely fighting one another. This group of Baltic peoples were the last mass of heathen near western Europe, and they occupied countries of great importance for trade. The Papacy, Denmark, Poland, Lithuania, German traders, knights and princes, Bohemia and Russia vied with each other to gain control of the whole, or of parts. A Polish Duke, Conrad of Masovia, hard pressed by the incursions of the Prussians, called the order of the Teutonic Knights to his rescue, promising them territories in reward for their help. Their Grand Master Hermann of Salza received for this enterprise the sanction of the Pope and the Emperor and in 1230 began to conquer Prussia, which was not definitely subdued, however, until fifty or sixty years later. In 1234 and 1243 Prussia was declared a papal fief, and she never became a part of the Empire. The knights extended their power also over adjoining territories. They combined the ideals of a monk and a knight and Hermann of Salza had learned much from his experience of the Norman State in Sicily. The Order gradually built on the Baltic coast a State in many respects far ahead of most other countries and widely admired as a model of organisation. Repeated uprisings of the Prussians led to ruthless suppression, the nobles and people who had remained loyal retained their rights, but rebels were depressed to servitude. The view often put forward by ill-informed modern writers that the Order exterminated all the Prussians is untrue, in spite of long and bloody struggles the majority survived and lived partly as freemen, partly as serfs.

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RUDOLPH OF HABSBURG AND THE NEXT-FOLLOWING KINGS

IN Frederick II's final struggles with the popes, and for a long time after his death, there was no strong central power in Germany. This period is known as the Interregnum. Rival groups of princes elected various Kings, but none of them could win general recognition. The Rhenish towns, however, which were loyal to the Hohenstaufen cause concluded a league for the maintenance of peace and security. It soon comprised seventy towns, and many princes and nobles too joined it. Yet, in wide parts of the realm anarchy was prevalent. The princes at last were no longer keen to elect a king again. Many had found it too profitable to fish in troubled waters. But Pope Gregory X, like so many Popes before him, felt the need for a German King and Emperor, partly to check the growing menace of a French or Spanish domination of Italy and to restore an international equilibrium, partly in order to bring about a new crusade and the re-union of the Greek with the Roman Church. At last he sternly exhorted the German princes to elect a king within a set term, else he and the cardinals would have to give the Empire a head. This papal order led to the election of Rudolph I of Habsburg (1273). For the first time seven major princes alone chose the King, while other equally important ones were not electors. How this privileged position of seven princes had developed is controversial. It included also a certain right of co-government, since important measures required their consent.

With this election the princes began a new policy designed to secure the permanent weakness of the royal power. They henceforth regularly chose a noble whose rank, wealth and power seemed not great enough to endanger their own position, and

they further preferred changing the dynasty when a king had died. In this way they hoped to prevent the king from building up the power and the connections of his house. Every king not content with the role of a puppet, therefore tried first to create a sufficient territorial basis for his power, but this usually aroused the jealousy of the princes and sometimes led to his overthrow. The later Middle Ages were a time of violent struggles among the princes trying to enlarge their possessions and to form compact territories. For their warfare the princes needed the knights and, therefore, had to close their eyes if the latter committed acts of violence. The knights had by the collapse of the imperial power lost many opportunities of a career; they retained their warlike spirit but could exercise it only in feuds and internal war or in the service of foreign rulers. The rise of the burghers to wealth and power aroused their envy and hatred and induced many to indulge in robbery at the expense of the despised merchant class. The downfall of the Hohenstaufens had further greatly increased the might and the ambition of the Popes and the French kings. The Popes began to stress their claims to control the election of German kings and their right to the imperial powers.

Rudolph of Habsburg was a Swabian count with large possessions in Alsace, Switzerland and adjoining areas. He had proved a valiant and prudent warrior, a sober and successful politician and an excellent administrator, who in his own lands began to replace the feudal institutions by a regime based on modern principles. It is doubtful whether he could read or write, but at that time even archbishops and abbots were found who were ignorant of these arts. Rudolph, on the other hand, had simple, homely manners appealing to the common man. He had been a staunch partisan of the Hohenstaufens unto the last, but then had understood how to win also the trust of the Church.

Pope Gregory X urged Rudolph soon after his election to come to Italy with an army to be crowned Emperor, but the German princes were quite averse to this plan, and the King had neither the troops nor money to carry it out. The Pope twice sent him great sums of money as subsidies for this purpose and, at Rudolph's request, ordered the German archbishops to fulfil their duty in regard to the expedition. But even this had no effect, and Gregory's death soon brought about a change in papal policy. We need not follow here the course of the later attempts to realise the Roman expedition. During Rudolph's reign of eighteen years there were six Popes and many changes

in papal policy. The unwillingness of the German princes to support any Italian expedition, anyhow, illustrates the discredit into which the imperial striving for power over Italy had fallen in Germany. In Italy, however, the idea of a renewal of the imperial overlordship had many adherents, not only among the Ghibellins but also in other sections who felt oppressed or endangered and hoped that the Emperor would help them against their enemies. Pavia was always particularly pro-imperial. In 1275 even Milan, though predominantly Guelph, sent envoys to Rudolph asking for his protection. A little later envoys of the King with a small escort of German knights journeyed through large parts of Northern and Central Italy. They were welcomed everywhere, and in many towns the people, assembled with their banners, swore allegiance and loyalty to the Empire. Rudolph's victory over King Ottokar II of Bohemia was received with joy in Italy, and the most important towns expressed their loyalty to him again, though this time a minority professed their partisanship for the Church and King Charles of Naples. A few years later the King appointed vicars of the Empire for Tuscany, who tried to vindicate the old imperial rights, though without much success. In the meantime the Italians had realised that Rudolph was either not able or not willing to intervene much in their affairs. Dante later bitterly blamed him and his son for their indifference, but actually it was less his own mind than German public opinion that determined Rudolph's attitude. As Redlich remarks, the nation had no interest in Italian matters, and German writers later expressed satisfaction that Rudolph had resisted the temptation to enter the lion's den.

In the general scramble for aggrandisement during the Interregnum Ottokar II of Bohemia had been the most successful. He was striving to build up a big empire between the Baltic and the Adriatic, comprising most territories of the later Austro-Hungarian monarchy and beyond, and he also coveted the German crown and meddled in Italian politics. When Rudolph became King, Ottokar possessed, besides his Bohemian realm, also Austria, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola. Since he refused to recognise Rudolph as King and overlord a struggle was unavoidable. In two campaigns the Bohemian King was defeated, and in the last battle he was killed by personal enemies on his own side. The conflict was not primarily one between Germans and Slavs. On Ottokar's side fought German princes and knights, and the city of Vienna was one of his staunchest supporters. His fall and death was deeply lamented by German poets, since he had

been their generous patron. Rudolph used his victory with moderation. The Bohemian countries were left to Ottokar's son Wenceslaus, who married one of Rudolph's daughters, and most of the Austrian lands went to Rudolph's sons, of whom one married Ottokar's daughter. In this way King Rudolph laid the foundation of Habsburg power in Austria and prepared by the double marriage a possible union of the Austrian and Bohemian countries. Rudolph's numerous children married into other dynasties, thereby creating chances of inheriting lands should their male line die out and also with a view to consolidating international peace. A great Danubian monarchy comprising also Hungary, was in sight, which might have spared Europe immeasurable disasters. But various dynastic accidents and the egoism and nationalism of the nobles in the Danubian area frustrated its realisation.

King Rudolph made many partly successful attempts to recover lands alienated to the crown and to acquire a sufficient territorial basis for his house. One of his principal aims seems to have been the restoration of the old Duchy of Swabia, which after the fall of the Hohenstaufens had disintegrated into many small territories. But this striving involved him in long struggles with other princes, especially the Counts of Wurttemberg, and could not be carried out. The robber knights were put down with great energy.

The main difficulty that faced all attempts to strengthen the central power was that the princes had the power to frustrate their success. Rudolph, therefore, tried to win the towns for his policy by granting them substantial rights and procuring them great advantages. Oppressive Rhine tolls imposed by princes were forbidden; the Cologne silver coins were improved and made legal currency in the whole Empire; the towns were permitted to tax also the clergy, and so on. The King was in close relations with the Minorites and Dominicans, who exercised great influence on public opinion in the towns. Their support was particularly welcome to him, since he was compelled to demand from the towns great financial contributions. The usual way was that they paid a lump sum and that the town council distributed the burden among the burghers. But Rudolph also tried to tax the burghers directly. In 1274 he levied a three per cent tax on property, which had to be declared on oath. The chronicler of Colmar relates that the poor were very pleased, but the rich greatly incensed, because the new procedure made it impossible to them to put the burden mainly on the poor. In

1279 the King even demanded from all merchants the eighth part of their capital. This seems to have aroused great resistance, and the King had to grant exemptions. Several times he assembled representatives of the towns to vote aids. This was a sort of burgher parliament. But Rudolph could only apply to the towns, while in England Edward I at about the same time was able to tax all classes, the representatives of which, however, were also sometimes assembled separately. A real parliament could have developed on the basis of national unity only, forged by a powerful monarchy. In this respect Germany was far behind England and France. Rudolph's frequent demands on the towns, however, eventually aroused an opposition which assumed revolutionary forms. In several towns impostors exploited the general unrest pretending to be the Emperor Frederick II who had returned from long retirement in a mountain cave, and they were hailed by the populace. One of them ruled for some time in several towns like a king, till Rudolph put him down.

The incessant efforts of the King to safeguard peace and order and create sound political conditions did not make him popular with the princes, who feared nothing more than a strong monarchy. In vain he tried to secure the succession for his son.

Rudolph's foreign policy sought to maintain good relations with France and England which were to be strengthened by dynastic marriages. The King himself in his old age married a youthful French princess. But along the whole western frontier France successfully tried to gain important positions at the expense of the Empire. Rudolph protested but took no strong counter-measures against France, though he forced several frontier princes leaning to her to pay him homage again. The King's attitude aroused considerable national discontent in German circles. A dynastic marriage between the Burgundian and French dynasties prepared the practical union of the Franche Comté with France which took place under Rudolph's successors.

The Popes often imposed high taxes on the German Church, which, they said, were destined for a crusade. But it often became known that they were intended for other purposes, for example in 1284 for supporting the King of France in his aggressive war against the King of Aragon. This caused the greatest anger of the German clergy, there were protests and refusals to pay; and when Cardinal John of Tusculum was sent to a Reichstag with financial demands, such an uproar broke out that he had to flee and escaped insults by the people only through the intervention of the King himself.

The King's closest collaborator was the Minorite friar Henry of Isnay, the son of a blacksmith. Rudolph often praised his devotion and zeal, called him in documents the confidant of his heart and his right hand and made him first Bishop of Basle and later Archbishop of Mayence, the first among the princes. His career created great misgivings among the prelates of noble birth. They spread the rumour that Henry practised magic; that the devil had appeared to him in the guise of a black cat and promised him the highest dignities if he would do his will.

After King Rudolph's death the Electors made Adolphus of Nassau King, a small Count who, they believed, would never endanger their power. But his striving for the aggrandisement of his house induced them to depose him and Albrecht of Austria, Rudolph's son, became King and defeated him. Albrecht's vigorous policy of increasing his own power led also to a revolt of several Electors, but Albrecht defeated them, too, and might have founded a strong monarchy had he not been murdered by his own nephew, who for personal reasons was embittered against him. It is remarkable that Albrecht went further than any previous King in recognising the papal claims concerning the German crown. This indicated that he, like his father, had given up the dream of dominating Italy and rather saw the future of the Habsburgs in the East, in building up a territorial power in Austria, Bohemia and the adjoining countries. In order to have a free hand in the East he was ready to avoid an ambitious policy in the South and West and cultivated good relations with the Papacy and France.

In Albrecht's reign France had won numerous West German bishops and princes by paying them subsidies, and after his death a French candidate for the German throne was intended. But the Pope was against it, and, as a compromise, Henry of Luxemburg was elected, who became King Henry VII (1308-13). He was a vassal both of France and of the Empire, had been educated as a Frenchman and hardly knew much of the German language. The Pope was won by an oath of loyalty, which was later interpreted by him as one of feudal fealty. Henry VII was a good and just ruler inspired by the ideal to restore the Emperorship in order to maintain concord among Christians. He gave Bohemia to his son, and with the full approval of the Pope set out to Italy. The expedition was supported by his relatives and the knights were mainly his and their vassals from the French speaking western territories. But other princes did not take part, except Duke Leopold of Austria, a special friend

of Henry's. German opinion regarded the enterprise with indifference. Italy was torn by fierce strife between Guelphs and Ghibellins, and Henry, who wanted to reconcile them, was widely received with hopes and joy. Dante sent a manifesto to all princes and towns and wrote a book celebrating the mission of the Emperorship to safeguard universal peace. The King was crowned King of Italy in Milan and later Emperor in Rome. But when he tried to levy taxes revolts broke out. The Guelphs and King Robert of Naples took up arms against him and there was serious friction with the Pope. A great conflict seemed imminent, but the Emperor suddenly died of malaria and his army dissolved.

While the first Habsburgs in agreement with German opinion had given up an Italian and universal policy liable to provoke the Papacy, Henry VII revived the imperial claim to world supremacy. By words and acts based on this claim he further aroused the sharpest protests of other kings, and the Pope, who now stressed his supremacy over the Emperor.

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NEW POLITICAL AND SPIRITUAL STRUGGLES WITH THE PAPACY

THE victory of the Papacy over the Hohenstaufens revived its claim for world domination, and this striving reached a climax under Pope Boniface VIII. He claimed to be the overlord and judge of all kings and princes and undertook an energetic policy of intervention in the affairs of the principal countries. In England and France, however, the royal power was strong and became invincible by calling up the nation in the form of parliamentary assemblies. Boniface's attempt foundered and France inflicted upon him the greatest possible humiliation. His successor, Clement V, was French and moved the seat of the Papacy from Rome to Avignon (1308), an enclave in French territory, where it remained for a century. The Papacy and the college of cardinals became a predominantly French institution and furthered the striving of the French dynasty for aggrandisement. The Church was subjected to a policy of ruthless centralisation, papal absolutism and oppressive fiscalism. This system was particularly onerous in Germany, where royal power was weak, while in England and France the Kings were in a much stronger position and could better withstand the pretensions of the Popes.

In Germany wide circles resented the financial exactions of the papal treasury, its consequences for religious and moral life and the close association of the Popes with French power politics directed against German interests. On the one hand they increasingly extended their influence on the appointment of bishops, etc., and insisted on the exemption of the clergy and numerous laymen connected with the Church from taxation and jurisdiction by governments. On the other hand they also

extended their own competence over wide sections of the people, which implied creating a State within the State. The papal treasury invented ever new methods to extort large amounts from the German Church and people. Indulgences were sold for cash and the appointment to posts in the Church was made dependent on high fees. Favourites of the Roman court accumulated profitable prebends, while the ecclesiastical functions connected with them were performed by badly qualified and poorly paid vicars. The burdens imposed upon the bishops and other dignitaries were shifted to the shoulders of their subordinates and the people. Was this not simony? But the papal jurists laid down: The organs of the Pope never commit simony. The money extorted was often used for financing wars or wasted in luxuries. The German towns were also embittered against the Church because many monasteries competed with the burghers in various trades but refused to pay municipal taxes. The whole late Middle Ages were filled with violent strife between the Church and the towns which often bordered on civil war.

A great section of the clergy deplored and condemned the corruption spreading from the papal court and penetrating all social relations. A significant symptom was the revolt of the spiritual section in the Minorite Order against the laxity which had superseded the strict rule of poverty laid down by its founder. They demanded the return to poverty and humility on the example of Christ and St. Francis. But the policy and life of certain Popes and their court was exactly the contrary, and the demand for a renewal of the true Christian standards was even condemned as heresy. The demoralisation of the Church by these conditions, however, was not so much the personal fault of the Popes, who often were worthy clerics, as the outcome of the system of the papal court and bureaucracy, which even the Pope could not change.

In Germany after the death of Henry VII one party voted for Lewis of Bavaria (1314-47), while another wanted Frederick of Austria as King. After eight years of civil war Lewis won and made his rival a prisoner. A further blow for the Habsburgs was that three small peasant communities in the Swiss High Alps defeated the knights of Duke Leopold I of Austria and King Lewis confirmed their old liberties. This event laid the foundation stone for Switzerland, though within the Empire. After his victory the King pursued a far-flung policy of dynastic expansion, and in the course of time he obtained for his house Brandenburg,

Holland and the Tyrol. But these territories were not to remain long in its possession.

In 1316 John XXII was elected Pope; a hard, imperious and legalistic character. He was of French origin, had risen to a great position at the court of King Robert of Naples, a French prince, and wanted to extend the power of the latter, and his own as well, over those parts of Italy which nominally still belonged to the Empire. The fact that King Lewis tried to reassert imperial rights in Italy and gave support to the Ghibellin ruler of Milan, Galeazzo Visconti, induced the Pope to declare that Lewis had arrogated the Kingship, since he had not received the papal approbation. King Lewis tried to appease the Pope but in vain. John XXII excommunicated him and declared him deposed. The King rejected his claims, proposed that a council should decide and published an appeal to it against the Pope.

The German princes mostly showed themselves indifferent and did little, if anything, for the King. But most of the towns actively supported him, and he did much to further their interests. The attitude of many towns was largely determined by their bitter hostility to the Popes and the local clergy owing to financial reasons, but they also saw in the King an ally against feudal violence. True, Cologne, then the greatest town, was merely guided by commercial egotism and only showed zeal for the King when he greatly diminished the oppressive Rhine tolls and, especially, when he made an alliance with England, which country was of paramount importance for Cologne. Among the South German towns, however, Lewis possessed many staunch supporters, for whom he procured not only substantial economic advantages but also a temporary position of great political influence on the affairs of the Empire. At that time the middle and lower classes in the towns were striving to break the rule of the rich patricians and to win control of the town governments. The democratic party was from the beginning for Lewis, while the patricians encouraged his enemies. The King favoured a victory of the democratic elements. In Bavaria he granted the towns autonomy.

In his struggles with the Papacy Lewis further obtained the support of famous scholars. One section consisted of leaders of the spiritual party among the Minorites, which was persecuted by the Popes. Another group was formed by two distinguished scholars of the University of Paris, Johannes of Jandun and Marsilius of Padua, who in 1326 sought refuge at Lewis's court to escape the Inquisition. Marsilius was an Italian patriot who

deeply deplored the furious antagonism among the Italian towns making the country a victim of the Roman court. He became physician to King Lewis and exercised great influence on him. In his book, *Defender of Peace*, written in Paris with the collaboration of his friend he accused the Pope of disturbing the peace of Christendom and denied that Christ had created the Papacy. The Church had spiritual tasks only and should live in apostolic poverty. The highest authority in questions of doctrine was to be a council composed of priests and laymen; but in all secular matters, even in Church affairs, purely religious issues excepted, the people and, as its representative, the King was to have decisive power, in particular in appointing the clergy, administering Church property and convoking a council. The study of Aristotle had much influenced Marsilius' thought. The State appeared to him as an organism, the outcome of man's natural strivings. The various occupations were its organs. The people was its soul and therefore held the legislative power, and the right of electing and deposing the King. The latter was the heart of the organism and possessed the executive power. It was felt that the book had revolutionary implications, and the Pope condemned it and its author.

Several times the Pope planned to have the King of France elected German King, too, but he did not succeed. Lewis sought reconciliation with the Habsburgs, he set free Frederick of Austria and even made him co-regent with the title of King. In 1327, at the urgent request of many Ghibellin leaders and Italian towns, he made an expedition to Rome, accompanied by a few hundred knights only. In an appeal to the Germans he said that the World Emperors, which had been won at the price of so much German blood, must not come into the possession of other nations. To his father-in-law, William of Holland, he wrote that only the petitions of the towns of nineteen Italian bishoprics had induced him to set out for Italy. His principal aim, however, was to strike at the power of the Pope in Rome, since he could not reach him in Avignon, and to set up a new Pope. Not one of the German princes took part in this venture, but in Italy there was almost no resistance. Lewis was hailed by the Ghibellin party and crowned King of Italy in Milan. In Rome, too, he was received with jubilation and crowned Emperor in the name of the Roman people by its representatives. He also held a sort of people's parliament, where he presided and made speeches in the style of a Roman Emperor. The people deposed John XXII and elected a Minorite Pope. But these per-

formances lost their spell, the King's small force permitted no active policy, his demands for provisions and the excesses of his knights aroused the hostility of the people and, moreover, a pestilence broke out among his men. The King left Rome under the sneers and scoffs of the Romans.

In Pisa the King met several prominent Minorites who had escaped from a papal prison and asked for his protection. Among them was the General of the Order, Michael of Cesena, the great philosopher William of Occam, head of the English province of the Order, and Bonagrazia of Bergamo. They offered Lewis their support but disapproved of the policy which he had made in Rome under Marsilius's influence. The King accepted their advice, though he continued the practice of holding popular assemblies. Yet it became ever more clear that the expedition had failed. His allies everywhere left him, conditions became chaotic and the Emperor hurried home.

In the following time, too, William of Occam exercised influence as a defender of the royal cause. He was more of a theologian and philosopher than of a politician, mainly criticised the corruption of the Papacy and advocated a poor Church ruled by the Holy Spirit. The supreme authority for him was the Bible, the apostolic tradition and inspiration by God. Occam particularly contributed to the development of the conciliar theory. The real Church was the community of all believers, which is superior to the Roman Church. The Pope was not entitled to legislate, he could err and commit heresy. A heretical Pope might in an emergency be judged by a council convoked by the bishops, kings and other laymen. The Pope's power was purely spiritual and derived from early councils. His temporal powers he received from kings and other laymen and they were restricted. In politics Occam was no radical like Marsilius, whom he criticised. The Roman Empire, he thought, was ordained by God and in theory comprised the whole of mankind, though in practice there were various independent realms. Occam later drafted State documents and speeches for the King.

During the King's absence in Italy the towns had maintained order in Germany and defied the Pope's interdict with the help of the Minorites. The Dominicans, however, by and large supported the Pope. Many bishops had remained loyal, too, while the attitude of the princes varied under the influence of constant intrigues. The Habsburgs and Luxemburgs were bitter rivals, and it was impossible to keep good relations with both at the same time. Both religious and political reasons induced the King to

seek peace with successive Popes, but their intransigence and, still more, the cabals of French diplomacy prevented a reasonable compromise. A great war between England and France was imminent and both sides tried to win the German King over.

When Lewis's hope of reconciling the Papacy failed he tried to call up the nation. All Estates, also the towns were convoked to assemblies. The Electors declared in 1338 that a King elected by the majority of them needed no approbation by the Pope and could exercise all rights of an Emperor. This was confirmed by two sessions of the Reichstag. A third session went even farther. At the Reichstag of Coblenz Edward III of England appeared, and the Emperor, at Edward's request, exercised his office of international arbitrator and supreme judge and decided that the crown of France belonged to the English King by right of inheritance. In reality King Edward wanted a military alliance with Lewis and the German princes, and for this purpose paid them great subsidies. Some of the princes actually fought on Edward's side. But the King did not fulfil his obligations and denounced the alliance under the pretext of England being in arrears. Lewis was seduced by the offer of French diplomacy to bring about an arrangement with the Pope. The King's conduct greatly discredited him in German public opinion, and yet other measures of his aggravated this ill-feeling.

Pope Clement VI renewed the anathema against Lewis and requested the princes to elect a new king (1346). His candidate was Charles of Luxemburg, the heir to the Kingdom of Bohemia, who had been his pupil. Charles had previously given the Pope the most far-reaching pledges, also recognising the papal right of approbation but in regard to his power in Italy only, not in Germany. The Electors actually elected Charles but without asking the Pope's approbation. Lewis might still have held his own, since most towns were strongly for his cause. But he died in 1347 of a stroke while hunting bears near Munich. His political vacillations were already criticised by contemporaries. But though the Pope seemed to have won he in fact failed to achieve his most important aim, the papal supremacy over the German kings.

The most important German publicist of the time was Lupold of Bebenburg, who in his later life was Bishop of Bamberg (1363). His principal work treats the rights of the German and the imperial crowns, and is dedicated to the Archbishop Balduin of Treves, the brother of Emperor Henry VII of the house of Luxemburg. The author strictly separates royal and imperial

rights. He traces the Emperorship back to the old Roman Empire and stresses that the Franks were related to the Romans through common descent. As the East-Roman Emperor could or would not protect the Western countries, the crown was transferred to Charlemagne, who was a German Frank. But the rights to Italy were not derived from it, as the Pope asserted. Charlemagne already before his coronation as Emperor rightfully possessed Lombardy and other countries on the grounds of conquest in just wars and of heredity. At the election of a German King, therefore, the Electors transferred the right not only to Germany proper but also to all the countries which Charlemagne and Otto I had possessed before their coronation in Rome, with the exception of those which became the rightful possession of other kings. The coronation as Emperor confers only the rights to the wider Empire. This world-emperorship has the aim to maintain peace and justice and to protect common interests of Christendom. It is the highest international authority and is alone entitled to declare war or to permit it, to legitimate children born out of lawful wedlock, and so on. Other kings were once dependent on the Emperor but have obtained independence, partly through the partition of the Frankish Empire, partly through prescription. Yet their peoples may still appeal to the Emperor in case of denial of justice or neglect of duties.

Lupold further discusses the origin of the Emperorship and of government in general. The royal power has been created by voluntary subjection of the people. That of the Emperor is founded on election by the Roman people, namely all the people of the Empire, not merely the inhabitants of the City of Rome. But the army acted as representatives of the wider people, as St. Jerome said in a passage also quoted in Canon law. At present, Lupold says, the German Electors are the representatives of the people of the entire Roman Empire, not only of the Germans. They could also elect a non-German and in certain cases can veto decisions of the Emperor or even depose him should he prove a tyrant. In principle, however, the Emperor is above the law as laid down in the Roman code. The election to German Kingship confers also the Imperial rights in the narrower Empire, namely Germany, Italy, Burgundy and Lotharingia. Lupold does not recognise a right of the Pope to approve the king elected; he also rejects the idea that the oath sworn to the Pope is one of fealty. In his view the coronation by the Pope confers only the right to act as the highest international authority. Yet, Lupold remains a loyal son of the Church and

stresses that the Pope has full power over the Church whilst he abstains from criticising the corruption of the clergy as Marsilius and others did. He does not directly refer to the great struggle between Emperor and Pope in his time and in general judges with restraint and moderation.

But Lupold's book shows also strong national feeling. He says that he wrote it from ardent zeal for the German fatherland, in particular for the German Franks. He also wrote a versified lament on the decline of the Empire. In a vision the Holy Roman Empire appears to him in female form and deploras that, owing to the discord among the Electors and the malice of foreign countries, the feathers of the imperial eagle are plucked. Those who need the Roman Empire detest it and try to tear it to pieces instead of combating foreign peoples and subduing those who have deserted it. If the princes would not pay her the due honours she would leave Germany and take residence elsewhere.

Lupold's belief in the World Empire was shared by most publicists. Dante wanted to attribute even wider rights to the Emperor than Lupold did. Marsilius and William of Occam sometimes were more sceptical of a universal empire. But sometimes they, too, came back to the idea of a World Emperor. Lupold's national feelings later appealed to the Alsatian humanists of the fifteenth century who showed a strong German nationalism.

Conrad of Megenbourg, too, discussed these problems. Like Lupold a native of Franconia he was a fervent patriot and great scholar. He won fame as a professor in Paris and Vienna and then settled in Ratisbon as a canon and wrote numerous books, among them a German treatise on nature, which became exceedingly popular. In his youth he wrote a long poem lamenting the corruption of the Church and the strife between Pope and Emperor. His ripest work, however, is the treatise on the Translation of the Empire, written in 1355. In many respects Conrad defends the same views as Lupold, to whom he dedicated one of his books. But he disagrees with him by according much wider powers to the Pope than Lupold. The Pope is high above all the secular rulers, and the German king, in particular, needs his approbation to obtain the right to govern. Yet, if a Pope should become a heretic or tyrant he may be deposed by a council. The Emperor is under him, but he is the temporal head of the world and superior to all other kings. The discord between Pope and Emperor is disrupting the moral world order. Conrad

fervently defends the title of the Germans to the Empire, especially against the pretensions of the French. He stresses much more than Lupold the excellency of the German character. Though the French excel in chivalry, the Germans surpass them in valour. The French, moreover, show a feminine character by their love of luxury, vanity and loquacity. The Germans are not men of words but of deeds. Conrad calls them an imperial and noble people not inferior to the old Greeks. The strife between Pope and Emperor is largely the work of the Minorites, whom Conrad attacks with great bitterness as disturbers of peace and harbingers of heresy. Occam's treatise of 1347 criticising the Pope and his protégé Charles of Luxemburg induced Conrad to attack the author as an abominable heretic. He also condemns the constant encroachments of the monks on the competence of the secular clergy. When a rich man is buried, monks and the parish clergy contend for the fees, even exchanging blows.

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THE CLOSING MIDDLE AGES

CHARLES IV of the house of Luxembourg (1346-78) possessed great experience in statecraft, acquired in France and Italy; he had seen many countries, spoke five languages and hardly belonged to any nationality. His mind combined sincere piety with interest in humanism and he greatly encouraged higher education, the arts and the letters. Diplomacy, compromises and money seemed to him better means of making policy than war. Most of his care was devoted to his native land of Bohemia, which by many reforms he rendered a well-ordered and flourishing realm. The code of law elaborated by his jurists was turned down by the Bohemian Estates, but nevertheless gained great influence in the courts of justice. The foundation of the University of Prague opened a new epoch. During two thirds of his reign Charles possessed an outstanding Chancellor in Johann of Neumarkt, a German-Bohemian of middle class origin. The usage of his chancery seems to have made a great contribution to the formation of the modern German language. Several chronicles point out that the Emperor spoke mostly German and propagated this language in his realm.

Like Rudolph of Habsburg Charles had realised that the real domination of Italy unavoidably involved an Emperor in enmity with the Papacy and other powers and that this was incompatible with a fruitful reign in Germany. Italian patriots like Cola di Rienzo and Petrarca entreated Charles to bring their country peace and to renew the greatness of the Roman Empire. The Pope and many Italian governments, too, appealed to him to appear, and the latter were willing to recognise him as overlord and to pay him taxes. But Charles had learned from history and

had no use for political romanticism. The German princes, moreover, as so often, were not in the least disposed to support an Italian venture. Yet Charles made two expeditions to Italy; the first to be crowned Emperor, when he was accompanied by three hundred knights only, and the second to come to the rescue of the Pope and to help in restoring some order. But he restricted himself to diplomatic negotiations, bestowed for a high price titles and rights and increased his prestige by being generally recognised as overlord, though only nominally. The Italian patriots were bitterly disappointed, and soon after his return the internal wars in Italy broke out again. Charles was also crowned King of Burgundy, which was a demonstration against France, but later he made the heir to the French throne governor of this kingdom.

Germany's government was left to the princes and towns, though Charles did make attempts to safeguard internal peace by regional agreements (*Landfrieden*). But just this restraint procured him the good will of the princes. In 1356 Charles, with their assent, issued the Golden Bull, which laid down the constitution of the Empire, mostly confirming the existing traditions. It settled the procedure of electing a king, ignoring the papal pretensions, defined the duties of the king, confirmed the rights of the seven electors, among whom the king of Bohemia was to have the first rank, and granted them further great privileges. The electors were also to exercise a sort of co-government. Their electorates were declared indivisible and inheritable by primogeniture. The Duke of Austria, Rudolph IV, the Emperor's son-in-law, did not receive a seat in the college of electors, but the young ambitious prince concocted himself privileges giving him an almost royal position, which were long accepted as genuine. The Golden Bull further prohibited political leagues among the towns and the conferment of their citizenship on subjects of princes living outside their walls. The Emperor was no friend of the democratic parties in the towns, as Lewis had been, and rather favoured the patricians. The Golden Bull furthermore declared that the Empire was composed of nations with different customs and languages and that, therefore, the lay electors should have their heirs instructed not only in the German but also in the Italian and Slav languages.

The Emperor was a master of diplomacy, and by negotiations, dynastic marriages and pacts he procured his house many crowns and territories as well as the expectancy of others. The Luxemburgs were rooted in the west of the Empire, while

the traditional sphere of aggrandisement of the emperors was the south. Charles did not neglect the maintenance of rights in the west and south if they could be safeguarded without war, but his main interest was the building of a vast empire in the north and east, and the conclusion of dynastic marriages promised the acquisition of the crowns of Hungary and Poland by his descendants. After Charles's death the plan regarding Poland failed, but Hungary fell to his son Sigismund. The Luxemburgs thereby became the forerunners of the Habsburgs. But even so advanced a ruler as Charles IV could not drop the medieval tradition of partitioning realms. In his will he divided his possessions among three sons and two nephews. His eldest son, Wenceslaus, was to have supreme control, but this was a clause of doubtful effectiveness since there were to be numerous struggles among the heirs.

Charles IV's time was agitated by grave social, national and religious conflicts and tensions, which were aggravated by the ravages of the Black Death. In 1378 a cleavage in the College of Cardinals led to the election of two Popes, of whom the one chosen by the Italian party resided in Rome, the other chosen by the French, in Avignon. This schism lasted for thirty-seven years and caused great dissensions in Germany, too.

Charles's successor was Wenceslaus (1378-1410), who in the beginning of his reign promised to become a good King. He made many attempts to maintain the reign of law by the traditional policy of establishing Land-Peaces. But this policy was faced with the difficulty that there were federations of princes, as well as of knights and of towns, to protect the particular interests of each group. These federations formed armed camps which tended to endanger the public peace and were, therefore, incompatible with the royal policy. The princes aimed at the building of compact territories and the acquisition of full rights of government over them, a policy which required the integration of many nobles, knights and towns in the areas envisaged. These strongly defended their menaced independence. The towns further tended to acquire the surrounding land as the Italian towns had done. They bought estates, castles, manorial rights, etc., and built strongholds for their defence, they hired knights as mercenaries, armed the burghers and introduced new weapons. Both the princes and the towns, therefore, adopted a policy of expansion, and their antagonism was bound to lead to civil war. The burghers had already come in conflict with Emperor Charles IV. The Swabian towns, forming a confederation under the leadership of Ulm, had defied the ban of the

Empire and defeated the Count of Wurttemberg. When the Emperor in 1376 had laid siege to Ulm he was unable to conquer her and had had to withdraw. Confederations of towns were also formed in other parts of Germany. Had the rivalry between princes and towns ended with a victory of the burghers, Germany would have become a federation like Switzerland.

In 1385 the Swabian and Rhenish towns concluded an offensive alliance with the Swiss towns against Duke Leopold of Austria. The Swiss defeated the knights of the Duke, who fell in the battle, and also won a victory over his successor. Though Wenceslaus made every effort to maintain peace, there were many conflicts between towns and princes, and in 1388 the Swabian and Rhenish Federations of towns opened war against the princes. In this war, however, the princes won the decisive battles, though the power of their adversaries was not broken. The King now mediated and the Land-Peace of Eger (1389) ended the war and obliged both princes and towns to dissolve their leagues. The causes of the defeat of the burghers was lack of discipline and solidarity as well as social struggles within the towns. The great commercial cities were for appeasement in the interest of trade. The North German towns federated in the Hanse remained completely aloof, though they were then at the peak of their might.

Later Wenceslaus discredited himself by his way of life and by various affairs which require no discussion here. He also meddled in Italian politics and planned the election of a new Pope in order to end the schism. The four Rhenish Electors finally deposed him and made Rupert of the Palatinate King. One of their arguments was that Wenceslaus had given up rights of the Empire in Italy. How far they really believed in the possibility of asserting these obsolete rights is hard to say; anyhow, their care for the prestige of the Empire did not hinder them from asking the Pope for his approbation of Rupert's election. The new King made an expedition to Italy, since Florence had promised great subsidies, but the aid actually given was not sufficient and the campaign failed. After his death parties of the Electors first elected two rival Kings, both Luxemburgs; in 1411, however, Sigismund was generally recognised, also by his brother Wenceslaus, who remained King of Bohemia.

Sigismund (1411-37) was already by marriage King of Hungary and Elector of Brandenburg. The German crown he largely owed to the efforts of Frederick of Hohenzollern, whom in reward he made Margrave and Elector of Brandenburg. This was the beginning of the great rise of the House of Hohenzollern.

Sigismund was a man of great gifts. He was tolerant in religion and knowledgeable, spoke seven languages and had many progressive ideas. He further was good-natured, jovial and witty, but also a light-minded spendthrift who was constantly in financial straits. The wide-flung interests of his different realms and his restless ambition, which induced him to make journeys to most countries of Europe, were obstacles to energetic concentration on German problems. A terrible menace to Europe was the growing power of the Turkish Empire, which had conquered large parts of the Balkans and inflicted a severe defeat on Sigismund when he tried to stem its advance. Sigismund realised the necessity of winning all European states for common resistance against the Turks and he also wanted to unite the Greek with the Roman Church and to make a crusade. He further cherished the ambition of restoring the power of the Empire in Italy. But all these plans first required the overcoming of the national rivalries among the European powers and of the schism in the Church, which was closely connected with them. Sigismund also made two expeditions to Italy and, after great difficulties obtained the Lombard and imperial crowns. But a restoration of the imperial rights proved impossible.

Germany's internal conditions were full of violence. Many princes pursued an aggressive policy against their neighbours and robber knights committed countless outrages. Even King Sigismund was once ambushed and plundered by one of them. The King in the course of his reign put many plans before the Reichstag to create at least a certain administrative organisation in order to secure internal peace and to raise money and troops. But these met with much opposition and usually were put off for the next session, or, when voted, were not properly carried out. Sigismund long harboured the plan of forming a strong alliance of towns and knights under his leadership in order to strengthen the central authority against the particularism of the princes. But the towns showed themselves lukewarm and even obstructive; few sent their deputies to the Reichstag, and those who appeared were reluctant to commit themselves. The towns distrusted the spendthrift King, were unwilling to risk money on purposes outside their local interests and preferred their full municipal independence to participation in a possible parliament of a great Empire. The knights and nobles harped on their old slogan that they were only obliged to fight in defence of the realm but not to pay taxes. The princes naturally were suspicious of the King's plans, which might decrease their own power.

In 1429 Sigismund declared that if this resistance should go on he would resign the German Kingship and retire to Hungary.

King Sigismund's greatest achievement was the General Council of Constance, which was to heal the cleavage in the Church (1414-18). By clever diplomacy he overcame the resistance of the then Pope John XXIII and compelled him to convoke the Council and to appear at Constance. He further won almost all the rulers and peoples of Europe to taking part in the Council, which became an imposing parliament of Europe, attended by prelates, princes, town magistrates, ambassadors, nobles, deputies of the universities, etc. Sigismund himself also played a great role in the work of the Council. Pope John had summoned great numbers of Italian prelates in order to dominate the council and claimed supremacy over it. But the assembly resolved that the five principal nations, namely the German, (which included also the small northern and eastern peoples), the French, English, Italian and Spanish, should have the same voting power and that within each nation clergymen and laymen should have the vote. When John tried to escape he was arrested. The Council declared its authority supreme, deposed John and another rival Pope, while a third one resigned voluntarily. Then it elevated the Italian Martin V to the papal throne. Many abuses in the Church were abolished, other urgent reforms were to be settled by negotiations with the individual rulers and it was resolved that the Council should be held periodically. It might thereby have become a parliamentary control of the Papacy, which, however, never submitted to it.

The outbreak of the revolt in the Church which had long been brewing was a sign of the general unrest in the spirit of the age. The later Middle Ages were a time of revolutionary fermentation. For more than a century England and France were involved in a great struggle, which caused awful misery aggravated by the Black Death. In many countries there were risings of the peasants, the artisans and the industrial workers. The wars widely aroused national feelings, and the kings needed money and had to court their Estates. Heretic movements were spreading and their suppression was intensified. Large masses were imbued with a fierce hatred of the clergy. Capitalism greatly advanced, a momentous economic and social transformation took shape; and the antagonism between the classes became acute.

The greatest outbreak of religious, national and social discontent, however, was to take place in Bohemia. In this country the wealthy traders, the ruling class in the towns, and most of

the educated people were German-Bohemians, and immigrants from Germany. At the university the foreign lecturers and students of the German language formed the great majority, and therefore had the decisive influence. These conditions aroused much resentment among the Czechs and the national antagonism was aggravated by religious reasons since the Czechs embraced Wycliffe's doctrines, and the University dominated by the Germans rejected them. The Czechs had a great leader in J. Huss, who in 1409 induced King Wenceslaus to decree that in future the Bohemians should rule the university. The Germans thereupon left Prague and went to Leipsic, where a new university was founded. The University of Prague was thereby reduced to insignificance. The agitation continued. Huss propagated Wycliffe's teachings in wide circles of the people and was put under the ban. King Sigismund proposed he should come to Constance under his protection and defend his teachings there. He did so but his enemies accused him of heresy and put him before an ecclesiastical court. The Emperor at first tried to protect him but failed and became afraid that the whole Council might founder on this question. At last Huss was condemned and burned at the stake. Even the leaders of the Reform party fully endorsed his conviction. Whether Sigismund violated his pledge is controversial since opinions differ whether his safe-conduct applied to the case of heresy.

The execution of Huss, and later of his friend Hieronymus, caused great riots in Bohemia. Churches and monasteries were destroyed and opponents murdered. Wenceslaus died from excitement and was followed on the throne of Bohemia by Sigismund, who was, however, not recognised by the Hussites, who accused him of being an enemy of the Czech nation. Among them there was a wing of moderates, called the Utraquists or Calixtines, and a radical named Taborites. The former belonged more to the wealthier and educated classes, the latter to the lower ones, especially the peasants. The Utraquists demanded mainly that the laity also should at communion be entitled to the cup, that the estates of the Church should be confiscated and that the Czechs and their language should become dominant in public life. The demand for the cup was obviously largely a symbol of nationality and equality. Huss himself had not laid stress upon it. The Taborites, however, were much more radical and rejected almost all the traditions of the Church. The word of God alone as revealed in the Bible was to be valid and every layman should have the right to in-

terpret and preach it. Every congregation was to elect their preacher and service was to be in Czech only. Extremists believed that the Day of Judgment was near and that they were the tools of God to exterminate the godless. Many preached the abolition of private property, others were opposed to any violence but could not make their voice heard in the roar of passions.

The Taborites possessed a great military leader in the one-eyed, and later totally blind, knight Zizka of Trocnov, who invented new tactics and instilled into his followers a discipline and enthusiasm which made them irresistible. The Pope proclaimed a Holy War against the Hussites, and successively five crusades were undertaken, but all in vain. Great armies were routed or just ran away. In the years 1428-30 the Hussites made many invasions into wide tracts of Germany, burnt down the villages, ravaged the country and carried away thousands of waggons with booty. It was fortunate for Germany when struggles broke out among the Hussites themselves. Zizka detested the moderates, who thought of peace, and wished to kill them all and even to raze Prague to the ground. The principle that every layman was entitled to read the Bible, to interpret it in his own way and then preach the word of God gave rise to many sects. Some rejected property and governments, others declared marriage a sin, still others advocated dwelling in caves, yet another sect indulged in going naked like Adam and was against restrictions on sexual intercourse. An important sect was that of the Picards, who taught that God was not in heaven but in the hearts of good men and the devil not in hell but in the minds of the bad. Zizka was for exterminating all sects; in 1424, however, he died.

Public opinion in Germany increasingly demanded negotiations with the Hussites, but Pope Martin V vetoed it. At last, however, he was compelled to convoke a Council at Basle (1431). It had hardly begun when the greatest army which Germany had ever mustered took to ignominious flight at the mere approach of the Hussites, without daring to fight. Thousands were cut down by the pursuers. The Council, in opposition to the Pope, invited the Hussites to expound their doctrines in their midst. After long negotiations a compromise was concluded with the moderate wing, the Utraquists. The radicals condemned this as a betrayal; civil war flared up in Bohemia and the radicals suffered a crushing defeat. Sigismund was now recognised as King, but further troubles followed. In 1437 he died leaving his

realm to his son-in-law, the Habsburg Duke Albrecht of Austria.

The Hussite movement was the first example of mass nationalism on a great scale with all its implications. Numerous Germans in Bohemia were either exterminated or driven out, or forced to become Czechs. In public life the Czech language replaced Latin. But the German example and influence had greatly furthered the progress of freedom and civilization, and trade and wealth also among the Czechs. Before the outbreak of the Hussite wars Bohemia had been a flourishing country, but after it was ruined. The winners were the Bohemian nobles, who had understood how to appropriate many estates of the Church, had strengthened their hold on the government and soon depressed the Czech peasantry to servitude.

The experience of the Hussite wars was that particularism had brought Germany, then a rich country, to such a pass that she was absolutely unable to defend herself even against a people which numbered perhaps a tenth of her own population. The Hussite invaders of Germany were often faced with hardly any resistance. The strongly fortified great towns remained unmolessted, but smaller towns and villages had to fear the worst. During the invasions of Germany King Sigismund was far away occupied with Hungarian affairs. The Reichstag was impotent; even when measures were voted they were not properly carried out. The princes had no troops, and the knights who were supposed to defend the country made off to their fortified castles. Even the greatest princes, such as those of Brandenburg and Bavaria were compelled to appease the Hussites by paying them large amounts.

What a well-organised unified state could do was shown by England that had a fifth only of Germany's population. Her kings could attack France, which had many more inhabitants than England, and they could raise armies unsurpassed in size and tactics. The French wars were long popular in England and had the support of Parliament. But their aftermath was the civil war of the Roses and then followed the near-absolutism of the Tudors. In France the great defeats discredited the nobility and for some time gave influence to the middle class of Paris. When the democratic regime turned into a reign of terror, however, and a social revolution was to be feared the bourgeois became patriots and rallied round the King. In France the Hundred Years War led to a strong monarchy and the beginning of a standing army; to absolutism and, afterwards, to national unity and an active nationalism. As regards religion, Wycliffe's noble-

minded zeal for a reformation in England brought about Lollardy, which was sternly suppressed by King and Parliament.

Sigismund's successor, Albrecht II, had the qualifications of a good and vigorous ruler. He was the first Habsburg who combined the crowns of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary and the Austrian countries. Like his predecessor he made attempts to give Germany an administrative organisation and proposed to divide her into circles, each of them under a prince elected by the Estates, and also to establish a royal court of appeal. The Electors, too, elaborated a plan. But all these schemes foundered on the resistance of the towns. Albrecht died during a campaign against the Turks after a reign of one and a half years only. The crowns of Bohemia and Hungary went to his posthumous son, Ladislaus, for whom in both countries indigenous magnates acted as regents, but later both countries made themselves independent of the Habsburgs.

The Council of Basle lasted eighteen years and was marked by growing radicalism, which again led to a schism. There were now two Popes and two Councils. In 1438 the electors declared that they would remain neutral and later tried to mediate. King Albrecht and the Reichstag adopted a similar attitude. The general outcome of the conciliar movement did not fulfil the expectations of the reformers. In the western countries the financial and other abuses of the Papacy aroused united resistance and led to reforms creating almost independent national Churches, first in England and later in France, too. Here the kings were able to secure for themselves the preponderant influence in the nomination of bishops and other important questions. In Germany, however, the lack of national unity was an obstacle to giving the Church a marked national character, though the Council and the Popes made at least certain concessions in this sense. But it was mostly the Pope and the local nobility in the chapters who were to exercise the decisive influence in making a bishop. This lagging behind of Germany in satisfying national aspirations contributed to the coming of the Reformation.

Albrecht II was succeeded by another Habsburg, Frederick III, and since that time, with one exception, always Habsburg princes were elected until the end of the Empire. Frederick III (1440-93) was a just, peaceable and quiet ruler, who in his own territories had to face great troubles yet never lost the belief in the great future of his house. As King and Emperor he showed very little activity and mostly left Germany to herself. He

invited the French King to help him in subduing the Swiss, who had revolted against his house; but when King Charles actually sent troops, they could not realise this plan; instead they ravaged German territories, all the more as the expedition was really intended to conquer parts of Germany for France. The German King was thereby so discredited that for the next twenty-nine years he did not set foot on any part of Germany outside his own possessions.

Frederick had long to do with the questions raised by the Council of Basle and with the schism. The Vienna Concordat of 1448 was the outcome of his negotiations with the Pope. Many attempts were made to reform the internal institutions on which public peace depended, but long without success. After 1486, however, better progress was made. In 1488, further, the Swabian Federation of towns, princes and nobles became an effective organisation able to put down disturbers of peace. The most momentous event under Frederick III's reign, however, was the marriage of his son Maximilian with Mary of Burgundy (1477). It was the starting point of the great rivalry between the Habsburgs and the French dynasty, which later gave rise to acute antagonism between Germany and France.

The epoch outlined here was further the time when a noteworthy development took place in the intellectual field, which was of the greatest importance for the public mind, namely the rise of the universities. Bologna, Padua and other Italian towns had early become centres of the study of the Canon and the Roman law. Numerous German clerics, mostly from noble and patrician families, received there training in the Canon law needed for the increasing functions of jurisdiction and administration exercised by the German Church. In Italy the students formed a corporation called *universitas*, which became the dominant element, and they also elected the rector. A further great event was the development of the University of Paris to an unrivalled position in the field of philosophy and theology. In Paris it was not the students but the professors and other graduates who dominated the whole university. The organisation of the Paris University then became the principal model for most other High Schools, including those of Germany, though some features were taken over from Bologna.

The first university within the Empire beyond the Alps was founded (1348) in Prague by Charles IV, who had studied in Paris. Soon other princes and also towns followed this example; in 1356 Vienna became the seat of a university, in 1388 Heidel-

berg, and so on. Up to the beginning of the sixteenth century twenty German universities were founded, of which twelve were under the patronage of a prince, six under that of a town, and one under that of both. Two, however, were stillborn and did not begin to function.

The universities possessed privileges which made them almost States within the State. Some of them were granted by the supranational authorities of Pope and Emperor, others by the princes and towns. They included a wide autonomy in jurisdiction, the right of graduates to teach at every university of Christendom, valuable revenues, property, ecclesiastical prebends, etc. Among the faculties that of the Arts was the lowest in rank but the most influential, since, following the example of Paris, its graduates alone elected the rector. This faculty prepared the students for the higher faculties and trained them in logic, Aristotelian philosophy and dialectic disputations.

The professors lived mostly in colleges and the students in charitable hostels under monastic discipline. Yet the students and many graduates formed a very unruly element, which often committed great excesses. There were frequent clashes between students and townsmen, the 'Town and Gown', and also much strife among students of different countries. If the teachers or students took offence at some action of the town or the prince, they made use of their right of secession and migrated to another university.

The outbreak of the Great Schism in the Church (1378) placed the numerous Germans teaching and studying in Paris in a very difficult position. If they remained they had to recognise the French Pope Clement; but in Germany the Italian Pope Urban was regarded as the true Pope, and those who belonged to the French party could not receive prebends in Germany. German scholars, whose living depended mostly on such prebends, were compelled to leave Paris. The French party further, by means of propaganda and bribes, acquired a great following among the Rhenish princes and nobles, who thereby became tools of the French policy striving for aggrandisement on the Rhine. Count Palatine Rupert I, however, was opposed to this policy and tried to gather all forces willing to resist the French expansion. This was one of the motives which induced him to found the University of Heidelberg, whose first rector was Marsilius of Inghen, a Netherlander and former professor in Paris. The universities played a prominent part in the activities of the Councils and had the greatest significance for the building of modern

States. Here the men were trained who were to become ministers, diplomats, officials, judges or teachers in the service of the new statecraft. The universities contributed much to the development of the study and application of the Roman law and to the replacement of clerics by laymen in the governments.

Though the development of universities in Germany was late, it soon became very active, stimulated by the great number of governments which wanted to have a high school of their own. In the period before the foundation of universities, the higher studies had mainly been in the hands of Dominicans and other monks. This was a main reason why scholasticism was less cultivated in Germany than in the countries where the universities had earlier taken root. Instead, mysticism found a favourable soil, especially in the convents under the guidance of learned Dominicans, and the spirit of mysticism became of great importance in the development of German thought.

The later Middle Ages further brought momentous economic evolutions. Already in the twelfth century North German towns formed guilds called Hanse designed to protect and promote their foreign trade. In the following time there developed out of them a great league of towns called the German Hanse which reached its peak in the fourteenth century. Its head was the Free Town of Luebeck, the number of direct members rose to over seventy, but including indirect ones it was much greater. The League put down piracy, developed the maritime and commercial law, and received great commercial privileges from foreign rulers. The German merchants long dominated trade and navigation in the northern seas, and had their main markets in England, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian and Baltic countries Russia, Poland and Germany. But the League always had a rather loose structure and as far as possible restricted itself to safeguarding commercial interests. The merchants of Luebeck in charge of foreign affairs were convinced that war was a great misfortune for trade, and expressed this standpoint in the words: 'It is easy to hoist the flag of war, but it may be very difficult to take it down in due time. Therefore let us negotiate.' Nevertheless groups of the towns were often involved in wars, they possessed powerful navies and fought great maritime battles. In feudal times foreign kings welcomed the Hanse traders as a source of profits for themselves and their countries. But later arose native traders striving to oust the foreign competitors, the kings realised that this development was also in their interest, and nationalism was nascent. The Hanse policy had a monopolistic

tendency, at that time common to all countries with a class of traders. Its main features were the right of staple and restrictions on the trading of foreigners. The rivals of the Hanse often used an opportunity of attacking and capturing their merchant ships, or to break their privileges. But the Hanse was also often drawn into conflicts between neighbour kings. All the States around the Baltic in certain periods pursued a policy of expansion and aggression directed also against the Hanse towns, and kings of Denmark, made a particularly active policy of aggrandisement threatening their interests. Denmark controlled the narrow straits forming the gate to the Baltic.

In these struggles Luebeck played the principal rôle, and often won great victories giving her the power to decide which of several rivals for a Scandinavian crown should become king. In the long run, however, the monarchical powers were to prove superior because they had the support of other princes and nobles while the belligerent towns were often left in the lurch by their fellows of the Hanse setting their own commercial profit over common interests. The Danish kings encouraged the Dutch rivals of the Hanse, who later had also the support of the Burgundian rulers and eventually that of the Habsburgs. English traders too became serious rivals of the Hanse. Its Russian trade was severely hit when Ivan III in 1494 closed the Hanse entrepot in Nowgorod and put the German traders for many years in dungeon. The Hanse was further weakened by internal strife. The towns were dominated by a merchant oligarchy, which did not breed money magnates but was wealthy. In the fourteenth century, however, the great democratic wave spread from the south to the north of Germany, and for two centuries the artisans in the towns often revolted to win power over the municipal government. On the whole, however, the wealthy merchants could hold their own, and towns captured by the democrats were often excluded from the Hanse privileges.

Since the end of the fourteenth century, moreover, relations between the towns and the princes deteriorated, this led to many struggles, and at last the princes won the upperhand. This was part of the general development in the advanced parts of Europe. Under the feudal regime the princes were far surpassed by the burghers in administration, finance, fortifications, the development of artillery, men of war etc. The towns were then able to buy from the princes privileges granting them almost complete autonomy. But later the princes gradually learned modern methods of government, they feared the growing power of the

towns and tried to restore their authority over them. The dukes of Burgundy succeeded in subjecting the proud towns of the Low Countries to their power. In Germany the princes defeated the South German towns, and later stabilised and expanded their power in the North, too. In the fifteenth century international power politics, backed by nascent nationalism and capitalism, spread over Europe, and monarchical rulers were better fitted for these struggles than the peaceable merchants of the Hanse towns.

In the South of Germany, too, many towns had in the fifteenth century reached a very high rank as international centres of trade and commerce. Augsburg and Nuremberg, Frankfort, Ulm and Strassburg, and even a small town like Ravensburg, were in close business relations with every part of civilised Europe. Bankers, merchants and industrialists like the Fuggers and Welsers were the most enterprising and richest in the world. Unlike the Hanse, South German towns were not merely wholesale traders and shippers, dealing mainly in foreign goods, but possessed also great textile and metal industries and mines in many countries and exported their own products all over Europe. Their main business was with the South of Europe, and they were closely connected with the great Italian towns, especially Venice, Milan and Genoa. Through them they imported the goods of the Near and Far East, and exported their products to the Levantine and Asiatic markets. But since the middle of the fifteenth century the Italian and South German towns began to be hampered in their trade through the expansion of the Turkish power. This was one of the reasons which induced Genoese, Portuguese, English, Spanish and Dutch seafarers to seek other ways to India and China. When Columbus landed on American islands he believed to have reached India and called them the West Indies. But a few years later Vasco da Gama really discovered a sea-way to India round the Cape, and Portugal thereby became the main purveyor to Europe of spices and other Asiatic goods instead of Venice. Many other discoveries followed, international trade greatly expanded, and ever more shifted from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. This was later greatly to affect the trade of the Italian and South German towns.

The growth of wealth in the towns was not restricted to the great merchants and bankers. Large sections of the middle classes also prospered and the social and cultural achievements of the towns aroused universal admiration. But the reverse of

the medal was the development of deep social cleavages between the classes and parties which often led to bitter strife and contributed to the eventual loss of the republican freedom of the towns. The guilds regulated trade conditions in great detail, on the one hand in order to uphold the honour of the trade by guaranteeing good work and fair play, on the other in order to secure to every member his living. But the latter striving led to an increasing restriction of competition and the exclusion of numerous categories from admission to the trade. One of the rules was further that the apprentices, who had passed the stage of juvenile learners, had to spend years in wandering about before being admitted to the state of a master. This was partly designed as a means of acquiring perfection in every technique and a knowledge of the world, partly as a means to restrict competition. The English and French guilds did not know this rule. German artisans, therefore, journeyed through all countries and many settled down abroad. Despite the jealousy of the local guilds they were in many cases indispensable and welcome because they alone possessed the skill and experience needed for a particularly difficult kind of work. Most countries were further supplied with German goods by the export trade. Many important inventions were made by Germans, especially that of printing, and they excelled in mechanical constructions and the artful working of metals. Aeneas Sylvius wrote that the Germans were wonderful in mathematics and surpassed all nations in building. The technical, commercial, cultural and military efficiency of many Germans aroused national pride. An early example was that of Conrad Kyeser of Eichstaedt, a military engineer, who in 1405 wrote a book, called *Bellofortis*, in which he described the technical means of warfare. Among them was also a balloon for signalling, operated by hot air, exactly like the balloon invented by the brothers Montgolfier in 1783. Every nation boasts of certain features, he says: Italy of her craftiness, France of her distinguished and amiable manners, England of her wealth, but Germany is everywhere famous for her resolute, strong and brave soldiers. She further excels by her liberal arts and is honoured for her mechanical knowledge and manifold trades. The military valour of the Germans will also secure them the further possession of the imperial dignity.

In the fourteenth century the Order of the Teutonic Knights consolidated and expanded its domination over Prussia, and built a State far in advance of the feudal order prevailing in most other countries. Prussia had been conquered, and the conqueror

was considered the owner of the whole land, just as the Norman King William I, was regarded as the owner of England. This gave the Order the opportunity of creating a strong central power, vested in a small group of monkish warriors, who in their great time exercised their duties in a spirit of ascetic self-denial, rigorous discipline and far-sighted rationalism. The government established its full control over the Church, which brought it in sharp conflict with the Papacy. The bishops were mostly members of the Order, and monasteries were not permitted. The nobles, both Germans and Slavs, were strictly supervised in regard to their feudal obligations, such as low justice, and were not permitted to expand or misuse them. The Order put down any violence, defeated powerful pirates, and secured peace and order on land and sea. It established the unity of law, justice and administration, unified the currency, and realised a system of finance based on principles alien to the feudal world. The greatest achievement of the Order was the colonisation of Prussia; it founded ninety-three towns and about fourteen hundred villages. Vast swamps were drained and primeval forests taken into cultivation. The iron German plough replaced the wooden Slav one, which alone doubled the output, as shown by the fact that a farm ploughed in the German way paid twice the tax of a holding cultivated in the old form. The colonists were largely German immigrants, but many native Prussians, too, were settled. The colonists were free men, and enjoyed favourable conditions of tenancy. The position of the subjected native population soon greatly improved, a great section of them were free, and even the serfs were better off than in the neighbour countries under Polish and Lithuanian rule. This was shown by the fact that later large numbers fled from these countries to Prussia to improve their lot.

The Order further did much to promote town life and trade. The greater towns under its rule were usually also members of the Hanse League, and followed its directions, which were sometimes at variance with the policy of the Order. The latter, too, engaged in trade and commerce on a large scale, which gave rise to rivalry and tension with the merchants of Danzig. The Order further founded schools and hospitals and cared for the poor.

The history of the Teutonic Knights showed, however, also sombre aspects. In the dense woods and marshes on the Lithuanian border the people were still heathen, and the Order waged incessant war against them. Princes and nobles from all parts of

Europe joined these activities, which were considered 'crusades', but in reality resembled more hunting parties in which human beings were chased and killed like wild animals. Henry of Derby, the later King Henry IV of England, made two expeditions, but also Kings of Bohemia and Hungary, Dukes of Holland and Austria etc. enjoyed this sport. Though some Grand Masters pursued a peaceful policy, it was hardly avoidable that the general trend was warlike. The Order was surrounded by enemies, all striving for aggrandisement. Moreover, it got into tensions with influential sections of its own subjects, the knights and the towns. In Prussia there were no regular diets of the Estates which at that time rose to power in most countries of Europe. True, a regime dependent on the Estates could under the given conditions be neither strong in war, nor make a policy restricting the feudal power over the peasants.

Poland also had in the eleventh and twelfth centuries indulged in warlike aggrandisement and temporarily extended her power from the Baltic to the Black Sea. This extension became a powerful tradition in Poland's policy. But soon bitter strife broke out between branches of the Polish dynasty; the realm was divided, and large parts of the conquered territories were lost to neighbours. The Teutonic Knights had for some time co-operated with several Polish princes against the Prussians, but when they acquired West Prussia (in our age known as the Polish Corridor) they provoked Poland's greatest resentment. To both sides the possession of this country appeared to be of vital interest. The Order, who bought it from Brandenburg, gained with it the only bridge between Prussia and Germany. Poland naturally resented that she was thereby cut off from the Baltic Sea. In the fourteenth century both Poland and Lithuania had a number of rulers of extraordinary efficiency who united the different parts into which these countries had been divided. The greatest of all Polish kings, Casimir III, called the Great, followed a policy of peace with Germany; he settled many Germans and Jews in Poland, promoted the interests of the peasants and renounced the Polish claims to East and West Prussia and Silesia. There was peace between the Order and Poland for more than sixty years. Lithuania became a vast empire, stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea. The Lithuanian Grand Duke Jagiello adopted Christianity, married the heiress of Poland, and became King of the country under the name of Wladislaw II. Poland and Lithuania henceforth formed a Union, and this brought about a decisive change in relations with the

Teutonic Order. In 1410 the Order was defeated in the Battle of Tannenberg, and further struggles followed till in 1467 the Peace of Thorn was concluded. Poland received parts of Prussia and the Grand Master of the Order had to swear fealty to the King of Poland.. Now Poland could also realise her ambition of extending her rule from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Under Wladislaw II and his successors the Polish nobility obtained great privileges which led to the depression of the Polish peasantry into hard servitude.

The fall of the Teutonic Order was partly due to the decline of the moral and political forces within itself, partly to the defection of a great section of the Prussian knights and towns to Poland, though these were quite predominantly German. The knights detested the autocratic rule of the Order and saw in Poland a State where they had more chance of obtaining power and to enlarge their rights over the peasantry. The rich merchants of Danzig had commercial reasons to oppose the Order, and considered their interests best guarded in a nominal overlordship of the King of Poland, which gave them the monopoly of the foreign trade of this country. The knights and the merchants reached their aims, and the Teutonic Order declined ever more. At last the Order hoped to regain strength by making a German prince Grand Master, and in 1498 Duke Frederick of Saxony was elected, who in 1511 was followed by Margrave Albrecht of Brandenburg.

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POLITICAL THOUGHT IN THE 15th CENTURY

IN previous times political thinking was concentrated on the relations between Church and State. But in the time of the great Councils it was the distribution of power within the Church which agitated the nations. The question was raised where the highest power resided—in the Papacy or in the general assembly of the Church. Two German theologians of the Paris University, Conrad of Gelnhausen and later Heinrich of Langenstein had taught that in certain circumstances a General Council was above the Pope. This doctrine had been taken up by prominent French theologians, in particular Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Charlier called Gerson. It was their spirit which dominated the assemblies. Great influence in preparing public opinion was further exercised by Dietrich of Niem, a Westfalian who held important positions at the papal court at Avignon and Rome and wrote several books. He described the gross abuses committed by the papal bureaucracy, demanded reforms and stood for the right of the emperor to convoke a Council. In this he was influenced by Occam, but nobody before him had stated the case for the Council so completely and strongly.

The Popes, however, were very reluctant to convoke a Council and resisted this demand as long as possible. When the Council of Basle assumed an outspoken democratic character, the defenders of papal absolutism tried to win the support of the rulers against the Council by pointing out that this tendency must also threaten their own power. A revolt against the Pope could only lead to revolt against the kings, too. But French defenders of royal absolutism replied that the king was there to rule and was not subject to the State, while the Pope's task

was to serve and that he was subject to the Church. A prominent papalist, Antonio Roselli, in a book on Monarchy, stood also for the absolute power of secular princes. The spokesmen of the Council, such as John of Segovia, tried to show that their policy was no threat to the temporal rulers. The time of the Councils saw a spate of writings on these questions.

No less urgent than the reform of the Church was that of the Empire; and it, too, was much discussed. The most important plan of a reform was put forward by Nicholas of Cusa (1401-1464). He was born at Khues on the Lower Rhine, his father was a skipper and he was educated at the school of the Brethren of the Common Life at Deventer, a centre of Christian humanism, where later Erasmus's mind received its inspiration. Nicholas studied law, theology, the humanities and the sciences and became one of the greatest scholars and thinkers, a cardinal and a statesman. As a young man, in 1433, he submitted to the Council of Basle and to Emperor Sigismund a book on Universal Concord. He intended in it not merely to express his personal opinions but ideas wide-spread in his time. The book became the gospel of the reformers.

Nicholas's philosophy, which he expounded in numerous books tended to reconcile all conflicts in a universal harmony without suppressing the individuality of the contending forces. They all have a share in the divine spirit and form an organism regulated by the law of nature or reason. As a philosopher Nicholas was both a rationalist and a mystic; as a political scientist, however, he based his thought on a broad empirical basis deepened by careful historical studies. The main ideas of his book on Universal Concord are:

In Church and State the wise men shall govern and make just laws according to reason. As all men are free and equal, however, government must not be based on force but on the voluntary consent of the governed. Its authority is both from God and from the people. This applies to the Church as well as to the State. In consequence, the parsons should be elected by their parishes, the bishops by their clergy and people, the metropolitans by the bishops and the Pope by the cardinals. The General Council is above the Pope and may even depose him. In regard to the State, too, Nicholas lays great stress on the rule of the wise, on voluntary consent of the people, on public opinion and on the rights of the majority. A domination by force is an aberration. Nicholas, like Aristotle and Thomas, seems to regard town republics as the comparatively best form of State,

and in a monarchy prefers an elective one. A prince is subject to the law, he should strictly cling to it and should also see that among the people there should be no great inequalities and a certain balance of power. He must have an army but it should be no stronger than the people.

Public opinion still saw in the emperor the first ruler in the world, the protector of Christianity, the supreme guardian of justice and the mediator and peacemaker among the kings. Nicholas agrees with this view. He compares the Empire and every State, to an organism in which the ruler is the head or the heart, the priesthood the soul, the common people the feet, and so on. The emperor has no proper power over other realms, but he possesses the first rank among the rulers and the aforementioned international functions. The papal theory of the Constantine donation and of the transfer of the emperorship by the Pope is rejected by Nicholas. He had investigated this question by studying the sources and had found that these theories were based on false evidence. The emperors authority was not from the Pope, but from God and the Christian people, the princes and the clergy.

Nicholas was the first who made a careful study of Germany's constitutional history. The time of the Saxon emperors appeared to him as the golden age, when the power of the emperor and his co-operation with the Church secured a strict reign of justice. The princes were at that time functionaries of the central power. Nicholas, however, was no believer in absolutism as laid down in the Roman law. He knew and appreciated the old Germanic folk laws, and the judgment by juries (Schoeffen) according to reason and conscience. Now the emperor's power has vanished, he says, and in consequence peace and justice have disappeared. The princes have usurped excessive powers, at the expense of the emperor, the Pope encroaches upon judicature and the investiture of prelates, the papal court squeezes money out of Germany, the bishops are driven by blind ambition and egoism, and the Empire is devastated by feuds and violence. The princes should beware. As they devour the Empire, so the common man may some day devour them. The empire is suffering from a disease, which may be mortal if a remedy is not applied at once. There is danger that foreign powers will subjugate and partition it.

The remedy would be a strong central power, vested in the emperor and the Reichstag. For this purpose the emperor must first of all have an effective judiciary authority. Feuds must be

absolutely forbidden and offenders heavily punished, even if they be powerful princes. The Empire shall be divided into twelve circles and in each of them three imperial judges shall be appointed, one a clergyman, one a noble, and one a commoner. This complies with the traditional principle that everybody must be judged by men of his own rank. The three judges will deliberate together, and then every defendant will hear the judgment from a judge of his own rank. The imperial courts were to be courts of appeal, except in the case of princes, for whom they should be the first instance.

Every year in September the emperor shall hold a Reichstag in Frankfort. This annual Parliament shall be attended by all imperial judges, the seven electors with their counsellors and nobles, and the deputies of all the greater towns. The other princes are not mentioned, but later Nicholas speaks of 'the great princes' so that he perhaps had in mind that a few major princes also who were not electors, should take part. Details about those entitled to attend are not given, but it seems that this Parliament would have had a considerable majority of commoners. As mentioned already Emperor Sigismund some time planned to base a reform of the constitution mainly on his intended alliance with the towns and knights, but found these not very willing since they feared the cost.

The Reichstag was to be presided over by the emperor and the members should take an oath to serve the common weal. It was to deal with all affairs of the Empire, in particular with the elaboration of a common German law, and the improvement of judiciary procedure in the interest of the poorer classes. Further the Reichstag was annually to fix the military budget and check the account of the expenses incurred. The army was mainly designed to uphold public peace within the Empire.

The Church should not be concerned with the secular government, but devote herself exclusively to her spiritual tasks. She should retain the revenues needed and the nominal rule of the ecclesiastical territories. But the real administration was primarily to be in the hands of lay officials appointed by the emperor in agreement with the ecclesiastical rulers. The Pope, too, was to give up his secular government. The German ecclesiastical lands were to become the mainstay of the emperor's power. Great care is given by the author to settling the way of electing an emperor. The electors used to regard this as an opportunity for selling their votes to the highest bidder and had largely in this way got hold of almost all the valuable assets

and rights of the Empire. Nicholas, therefore, proposes a detailed scheme designed to prevent such abuses. The Reichstag was to have a decisive vote and act also as the supreme tribunal for judicial affairs of the princes. The emperor could further in exceptional cases call an extraordinary Reichstag attended by all the princes, also the smaller ones. The ordinary Reichstag, however, had to meet regularly every year, irrespective of the will of the emperor. There was further to be an imperial council, elected and sworn in by the Reichstag and designed to protect the interests of the people. Nicholas compared them to the cardinals surrounding the Pope, and we may regard them as a parallel to a modern cabinet.

It may cause surprise that Nicholas did not provide any representation for the knighthood, which played such a prominent part in the history of parliaments. But it must be remembered that at that time the knights, as also the towns, had great power in the territorial diets, so that most princes were dependent on them. The imperial judges from the nobility, who were to sit in the Reichstag, would mostly have come from this class. The unruly knights, who were largely engaged in feuds and robberies, were to find a living as officers in the imperial army where they could be kept under discipline.

As mentioned already this plan of reforms in many points reminds of the ideas of Emperor Sigismund and of some of his counsellors. But Nicholas naturally regarded politics under higher aspects than the practical statesmen. His own attitude to the reform of the Church soon underwent a great transformation. The Council of Basle comprised many elements leaning to radicalism, in particular numerous lower clergymen, scholars from the universities and even laymen. Many of the French bishops fostered this section because they wanted to use them as a counter-weight against the Italians. The Bishop of Tours even remarked that the main object was to tear away the Papacy from the Italians and, if this should not be possible, to reduce papal power to insignificance. The Council, therefore, came under the influence of radicals who sometimes tried to terrorise the others. These manoeuvres had the effect that many prominent reformers were repelled and induced to join the ranks of the papalists. Nicholas, too, abandoned the principle that the Council was above the Pope and became a defender of papal supremacy. The intransigence of the radicals had again helped the cause of reaction. Nicholas now devoted himself to the task of reconciling the Greek Church with Rome, to the revival of religious fer-

vour in Germany, and to other causes.

Among the personalities outstanding in the political and intellectual fields two were of particular importance for Germany: Gregor Heimburg and Enea Silvio Piccolomini. In many great affairs of State they both took part, often as representatives of different parties, but long connected by mutual admiration. Gregor was a great jurist, learned in the Roman and Canon law, but also deeply versed in the humanities, theology, history and philosophy. He had a bold, fiery and rugged character, his appearance, arguments and eloquence fascinated even his enemies, and his service as a lawyer and envoy in great causes was eagerly sought and highly paid by rulers. For almost thirty years he was legal counsel to Nuremberg, but also pleaded for other clients. The electors sent him to the Pope at the head of a mission, and he fulfilled his difficult tasks with frankness, energy, and success. Shortly afterwards he wrote a tract criticising the Papacy with unprecedented outspokenness and vigour in many respects anticipating Luther. The popes were accused of having arrogated secular power by cunning falsification of documents, of having often plunged Germany into civil war, and of scandalous corruption and financial exploitation. All this was placed in strong relief against the words and deeds of Christ. Gregor Heimburg contributed much to the spreading of the Roman law in Germany, mainly by means of legal advice in difficult cases. His opinions were preserved as precedents. Among other principles he maintained that according to the Roman law public welfare was above private rights, a doctrine sharply antagonistic to the German law. The towns frequently applied it, since they were the pioneers of the new welfare state.

In 1449 Margrave Albrecht surnamed Achilles, a Hohenzollern together with many other princes opened a war against Nuremberg, which lasted several years and was waged with great devastation of the countryside. Nuremberg cited the aggressor before the tribunal of Emperor Frederick III and Gregor Heimburg conducted her case. His plea was a grandiose indictment of the rapacious princes, in a tone hardly ever heard in a monarchical state. He accused them of criminal behaviour, wrecking the Empire, denying justice, and oppressing the people by countless tyrannies. 'Oh you blind and foolish Germany,' he exclaimed, 'refusing obedience to one Emperor you subject yourself to a thousand masters!' Gregor's eloquence was so overpowering that even many princes were moved and began to waver. But Albrecht terrorised the assembly, and the Emperor played a

pitiful role. He tried to evade the necessity of a decision and prorogued the matter again and again. It was at last settled by agreement between the parties. Gregor later said the cowardice of the Emperor had astonished friends and foes; the whole Christian world was ashamed. He now despaired of the imperial cause.

Soon Gregor was faced with the enmity of Pope Pius II, his former friend Enea Silvio. The Pope wanted to win the German princes for a crusade against the Turks, but Gregor opposed him on the ground that the money voted would only be used for quite different purposes. The princes followed Gregor's advice, who was put under the ban by the Pope. The sentence also decreed the confiscation of his property. But neither the princes nor the bishops took much notice of the Pope's commands. Gregor entered the service of the King of Bohemia, George of Podiebrad, one of the most gifted rulers of the time. Besides other plans the King had the ambition of becoming German King and Emperor, too, and Gregor supported this aim and won many important German towns and princes for the Czech King. The latter's knowledge of the German language was very poor, he had not much education, but was a most resourceful politician and might have become an excellent and great king. But soon he became involved in bitter conflict with the Pope who stirred up powerful enemies against him. King George died only fifty one years old, and a year later Gregor Heimburg, too, was no more.

Enea Silvio Piccolomini was an accomplished humanist, who by his outstanding talents made a great career. He started at the Council of Basle as a reformer, but was later increasingly repulsed by its growing radicalism, entered the imperial service, went over to the papal cause, and eventually became Pope himself under the name Pius II. In a book on the Empire he deeply deplored the fierce internal struggles among his countrymen and saw the only possible remedy in the restoration of a strong imperial power in Italy which would bring peace and justice. Further, Italy had become the birthplace of a new theory of the State based on the Roman law. Great Italian jurists emphasised the universal and absolute power of the Roman Emperor, whose authority extended over all nations, and who could override every private law in the name of the public weal. This was entirely antagonistic to the Germanic concept of law. Enea Silvio took over this view from his master Antonio Roselli who continued traditions deeply rooted in Italian legal and political

thought. In Enea's view the emperor is omnipotent, not subject to any law, and can revoke any privilege if it conflicts with the public weal. He will, however, be wise if he acts with moderation. A monarchy is more able to maintain peace and justice than a democracy or aristocracy. The views expressed by Enea Silvio show him as a forerunner of the modern ideas of sovereignty. Already in the fourteenth century French and Italian jurists began to elaborate the idea that the State had a personality independent of the people, and its rights aiming at the public weal were public rights and, in consequence, higher than private ones. This personality naturally had also a morality and reason of its own, later called Reason of State. Machiavelli became the classical exponent of this ideology. Enea Silvio did not yet go as far, but he, too, contributed to the development of the new spirit. Nicholas of Cusa, however, still clung to the doctrine that a prince was subject to the law and responsible to the people.

The struggles of the age, and the need of reforms, stimulated thinking on the constitution of the Empire. The first who wrote a treatise on this subject was Peter of Andlau, a professor at Basle. He believed that in principle the Pope was superior to the emperor, but for practical reasons did not wish him to interfere in secular politics. The emperor should be elected with a view to the welfare of Christianity as a whole, not only the Germans. Peter accepts the opinion of the Fathers of the Church that according to the natural law all men were free and equal, but that the corruption of man's nature has made necessary compulsion and a strong government. He takes over from Thomas Aquinas all his theses on the natural law. The author further bitterly complains about the decline of the Empire and the dreadful lack of security in Germany. In his opinion this was largely due to the fact that in many courts unlearned rustics administer justice. In the counsels of the princes, too, are many knights ignorant of the law and leaning towards violence themselves. The advice of trained jurists is disregarded or ridiculed by them. Things can improve only if the insecure customary law is replaced by the written Roman law, and the untrained lay judges by professional jurists. Bartolus had shown from the Roman law that a doctor of this law had the rank of a noble, and if he had been a professor of law for twenty years was equal to a count. This principle was also put forward against the claim of the noblemen to be judged by their peers only. Peter stresses that the knights of the law are no less useful to mankind and even better than the knights of the sword.

The German knights are pictured by Peter of Andlau in very dark colours. They despise virtue and wisdom and regard it as a disgrace if a nobleman cares for the intellectual and moral education of his children. Laziness, heavy drinking and unbridled licentiousness alone seem to them becoming for their rank. Persons of low rank become robber knights in order to be regarded as nobles, and the greater their misdeeds the more they are praised as valiant noblemen. But if one of them is peaceable and modest he is despised as a degenerate and called a burgher.

The bitter public opinion created by the evil conditions in Church, State and society is characteristically expressed in a pamphlet entitled 'Reformation of Emperor Sigismund'. It was widely read and exercised far-reaching influence. The pamphlet purports to give the ideas of Emperor Sigismund, but it was certainly not an official publication nor inspired by him. The question who wrote it has been much discussed and many possible authors have been suggested. The most recent investigations show that it must have originated in a circle of officials near the Emperor and probably in contact with him, but that the original was later revised in a radical sense by other writers.

The tract is full of passionate criticism of the desolate conditions in the Church and the Empire. The ruling and higher classes are utterly corrupt and selfish and the Free Towns alone would perhaps support vigorous reforms. In the Church the high clergy treat their dignities like financial investments which are sold and bought; many accumulate prebends and live in luxury. The monks are particularly demoralised and exploit the poor people and the secular clergy. Elaborate measures are proposed to put an end to these abuses. Every priest from the highest to the lowest shall receive a fixed salary, give up trafficking in prebends and the exercise of secular power and devote himself exclusively to his religious duties. The morality of the clergy must be improved.

In regard to government the tract aims at strengthening the Emperor's power by the recovery of property and rights alienated by the princes and the Church. The Empire reposes on the service of the nobility and the taxes of the Free Towns. But both care little for the Empire and even act against its interest. The people are subject to grievous burdens, especially unjust tolls. There should be only one impost destined for the building of roads and bridges. Curiously enough the author wishes to use for this purpose the fines for immoral offences. This shows how backward the opinions on public finance were. Serfdom is de-

nounced as an abomination incompatible with Christianity. The lords are criticised for seizing the commons and taxing the peasants for their usage. Game-laws should be abolished.

The author exhorts the knights and towns to support the Emperor in reforming Church and Empire. But his hope is mainly set upon the towns, where righteousness still reigns. Yet he also blames the towns for being dominated by the guilds of artisans, who nominate many members of the town councils and abuse their political influence. The guilds should restrict themselves to regulating their trades. Everybody should have his living but not encroach upon that of others or charge excessive prices to the people. The merchants, in particular, are exploiting the poor by means of commercial monopolies. Against these capitalistic practices the sharpest measures are needed. Prices and wages should be controlled. The author demands also that every town council should appoint a municipal physician who should get a fixed salary and be obliged to treat everyone gratis. The poor should get medicines free of charge.

The general spirit of this pamphlet is great bitterness towards the degenerate Church, especially the monks, and towards the great nobles. These are entirely depraved and only the small and common people still stand for justice. King Sigismund had said before the Council that only the poor parish priests still cared for religion.

The old legend of the Emperor Frederick who will bring peace to the world is revived in a modified form. When Luther started the Reformation he made use of the tract and quoted from it. It also influenced other similar writings and was repeatedly reprinted; five times in the sixteenth century and four times in the two following ones. The leaders of the Great Peasant War were inspired by its ideas. On the whole the tract is a strange mixture of progressive and reactionary tendencies. It shows how difficult it was even for well-meaning and well-instructed men to find a practical way out of the chaos owing to the lack of a strong central authority in Germany. The most striking feature of this tract is perhaps the absence of any concrete idea of a national State, though a vague idea of a German nation is not lacking.

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SOCIAL CRITICISM IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

THE fourteenth century was the age of the great German mystics, such as Master Eckhart, Tauler and Suso. The mystical striving to find a direct approach to God by withdrawing from the world to the depth of one's own soul springs from a general human longing manifesting itself in numerous forms. But there are times and peoples where it is more extensive and intensive than elsewhere. A factor which fostered mysticism in the Germany of the fourteenth century was the great number of nunneries under Dominican care, especially in the South and West. The general background, however, was the desolate condition of Church, State and Society and the prevailing despair of any possibility of a reform. The mystics found God in their hearts and felt unified with him. Philosophical speculation following the way of Neo-Platonism, moreover, led towards a Pantheistic outlook. The outward things lost their significance. Neo-Platonism taught that evil was only an illusion. But the mystics did not acquiesce in a passive attitude to evils which they could remove. Eckhart said: 'If someone is in ecstasy and he knows of an ailing woman needing soup, I should regard it as much better if he awakened from his ecstasy and served the needy in greater charity.' Many sayings of the mystics emphasised that practical love of one's neighbour was more important than anything else.

The late Middle Ages did not produce any great poets, but a very great number of minor writers whose works are important as illustrations of public opinion. The principal subjects are again the condemnation of the money-making spirit pervading all classes, in particular the rich, of the depraved clergy and its head, the Pope, and of the nobles without the true nobility of

character. Few authors defend the upper classes and the clergy. A noteworthy symptom is the frequent praise of the poor peasant working by the sweat of his brow who on Doomsday will alone escape damnation. The mystics consider poverty and a simple life favourable to the finding of God. Tauler says that the ploughman is the greatest friend of God, a symbol of human struggles. Rulman Merswin, a wealthy merchant of Strasburg and a mystic, expects the regeneration of society by God through the peasants. Writers belonging to the Teutonic Order also praise the peasants, though these are advised not to strive above their class. The Viennese Heinrich the Teichner is particularly hostile to the nobles. The useless aristocrats should be abolished like a tree bearing no fruit. The princes and the common people have the same interest. But he is also against princes who overtax the people and he disapproves of the expeditions which the Austrian Dukes Leopold and Albrecht undertook against the heathen Prussians.

The wandering minstrels increased. Those with ambitious and higher qualifications often called themselves masters or master-singers and visited courts of princes and nobles. Many of them criticised all classes, sometimes with surprising frankness. Peter Suchenwirth had obviously adopted his surname, which means 'looking for a host'. He also found one and became the court poet of the Dukes of Austria. But he was critical of bad princes and warned the rulers to treat the peasants well if they wanted to avoid a social revolution, which he depicted in a forceful way.

Hans Vintler was an upright and fearless nobleman sprung from one of the wealthiest and most prominent families of the Tyrol. In his poems he deeply deplored the moral decay of the nobility. Instead of protecting the people the nobles only fleeced the poor. Shame upon them! Three such nobles were not worth one peasant. If they were called upon to defend the country or to pay taxes they vanished like bats. They boasted of the exploits of their ancestors or their money; their way of life, however, showed that they were fools. The striving of the lower classes for equality is discussed by many writers. Some of the poets oppose it, others blame both nobles who exploit the serfs and those of the latter who run away to the towns. An important statement of the standards demanded from a true knight is contained in the *Mirror for Knights* by Johannes Rothe, a Thuringian (ca.1400). He condemns the numerous knights who live on robbery and other crimes and who betray the ideals of

knighthood. True knights are only those who fight for their prince in a just cause and on behalf of the common weal against the enemies of the country, or who make a crusade to the Holy Sepulchre. A knight must not practise a handicraft but he may be a partner in a commercial enterprise; he may breed and sell horses and perform certain work on his farm, such as harrowing, helping to store the harvest in the barn, etc. Rothe is against letting the nobility become a caste and wishes that the descendants of serfs also may be able, in the course of a few generations, to rise to the highest dignities and even to become princes or kings.

Michael Beheim, born in 1416, was a Swabian and the son of a weaver, and at first worked as a weaver himself. Later he became a soldier and writer and saw many countries. He was employed by a number of kings and princes and, like so many minstrels, he clung to the ideals of knighthood and bitterly denounced their decline, in particular the misdeeds of the robber knights. He was greatly distressed by the growing Turkish menace and blamed the knights for not devoting themselves to a crusade against it. The world seems to him to be rapidly deteriorating and he sharply attacks all classes and sometimes also criticises the princes, in particular their constant feuds and the injustice of their judges and officials. All men, he says, are essentially equal and descendants of Adam. Yet, Beheim, who had a great interest in politics, was not a democrat. The burghers were particularly odious to him as he regarded them as mean money-makers interested only in good eating and drinking. But the peasants are no better, he avers. They are full of pride, fraud and quarrelsomeness among themselves. If a peasant has some conflict with his lord he runs away and becomes a robber. Beheim, nevertheless, often takes the side of the peasants against the nobles. In spite of his aversion to the burghers, in 1461 he wrote a poem in praise of the Viennese, who had remained loyal to the Emperor, while the nobles had deserted him. The accounts of the city of Vienna that have been preserved show that the town council remunerated him for this poem. But soon the burghers of Vienna, too, rose against the Emperor, and now Beheim furiously attacked them and heaped the worst abuse upon them. In his thirty-two poems against the Jews he wished that Christians should strictly keep aloof from them. He also blamed the princes who appreciated the Jews as taxpayers or granted them honours for their wealth was extorted from the poor. Beheim says in one of his writings in verse: 'The Prince

has hired me as his servant. I eat his bread and sing his song. If I find another, I shall also write for him and praise him if he treats me well.'

A new feature is the strong hatred of the Jews expressed in many poems, especially by writers of burgher origin, such as the famous blacksmith Regenbogen. The gunsmith Schnepferer, called Rosenblueth, of Nuremberg, is decidedly on the side of the towns, artisans, peasants and workers against the nobles and the idle rich. He, too, is hostile to the Jews, who leave all the heavy and dirty work to the Christians and work little themselves. He glorifies manual labour and condemns the exploitation of the workers by the clergy, princes, lords, judges and merchants, who all suck the bloody sweat of the workers. But there are also authors who are mild towards the Jews and find that the Christian usurers are no better, or even worse. In a few writers the old mistrust of the merchants is modified by an appreciation of their social utility. Heinrich the Teichner places them above the peasants, since they put the agricultural products into circulation. Johannes Rothe calls them the lungs of society.

The epic of Reineke the Fox attained great popularity. The subject had first been treated by German monks, had later been used by French and Flemish poets and finally a very witty Flemish poem was translated into German. It was a satire on public conditions and its outlook is expressed in the words: 'The petty thieves are hanged but the great ones are highly esteemed and govern cities and countries.'

From the later Middle Ages also many popular songs of a political character have been preserved. They mostly refer to the struggles of the people against the nobles in Switzerland, Flanders, Frisia, etc, and to the civil wars between towns and princes. Most of them defend the people's cause, though some support the other side. The princes and nobles employed minstrels who were particularly virulent in their polemics. Many popular songs also violently attack the clergy, the money grabbers, the lawyers and the Jews. The other side hit at the peasants and the burghers, and the latter are often called boors or peasants by them. Some poems, however, praise the peasants, who are called more noble than all the lords, the clergy, or even the Emperor. Has not Christ compared God with a peasant calling himself a good shepherd and his father a ploughman? The Emperor himself should bow to a peasant. Some poems exhibit revolutionary tendencies, but the majority desire to maintain existing conditions or preach harmony among the classes. Some

defenders of the nobility, especially among the Humanists, go as far as to say that the peasants are so arrogant that they must be bled from time to time to keep them under control. Sometimes also communistic tendencies of a primitive kind become vocal. Kill or rob the rich clergy, the Jews and the nobles, and distribute their possessions! A poem praises Charlemagne, who wanted to distribute all wealth in equal shares. There is also a song proposing to share out the land of rich peasants among the rural proletariat. Most popular songs treat princes and nobles as allied enemies, but some see in princes the defenders of the common man against the nobles and the restorers of peace. A song in defence of the aristocracy bitterly attacks Emperor Sigismund, who must have been mad when he granted privileges to the towns which only princes should have and thereby made them overbearing.

Not a few writers were afraid that the wheels of progress were turning too quickly and were carrying the world to rack and ruin. The new spirit in life and learning, they believed, was going so far that it led to great evils. Sebastian Brant was greatly learned in law, theology and the humanities. He was first a professor in Basle and later town clerk of the Free Town of Strassburg, an Imperial Counsellor and intimate adviser of Maximilian I. Erasmus called him the pride of his famous city. His satirical poem *Ship of Fools* (1494) appeared in numerous editions, reprints and translations into English, French, Latin, Dutch and Low-German and was widely imitated. Its spirit is similar to Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*. The world is full of fools of all sorts and men want to be deceived. We need not mention here all the various forms of folly condemned by Brant, but it is significant that many are connected by him with the new spirit, for example the striving for fame and glory, power and riches, the accumulation of books and the affectation of great learning without much behind it, the attention to public opinion, the appreciation of personal beauty and the cult of fashion, the arts of alchemy and astrology so characteristic of humanism, and even the striving to explore foreign countries and to discover new ones overseas. The wise man stays at home. Brant was himself a scholar but he disparages studies and activities useless for the salvation of the soul. One cannot serve both God and the world. Many fools are full of conceit because they have studied at Bologna or Padua or Siena, at Paris or Orleans, but one can acquire learning and wisdom in Germany, too. There are now even so many universities and schools and books in

all countries that learning has fallen into disrepute and scholars are despised. They are now less esteemed than the peasants. Brant thinks that too much is being printed now and many worthless or dangerous books too. The publishers bring out whatever pays, like astrological weather forecasts and prophecies and other infamous writings. The peasants demand such forecasts in order to make a profit by keeping back corn and wine if the crops are not likely to be large ones. Not so long ago the peasants lived in a simple way and harboured righteousness which had fled from the towns. But now they borrow money, which they refuse to repay in time, they profiteer, make money and dress in expensive foreign cloth after the newest fashion. Their wives wear silk and golden necklaces. In the towns trade and commerce are full of fraud and usury, the Christians being even worse than the Jews. The craftsmen vie with one another in cheap and shoddy mass production and often go bankrupt thereby. No wonder if a workshop turns out twenty pairs of shoes a day or a dozen swords. Brant condemns the doubtful clearance sales, the offering of great rebates on prices which had secretly been raised before, and similar practices.

In short—nobody is now content to stay in his rank but wants to rise above that of his forbears. There is a general race to become rich. Every crime is now committed for money. In the good old days, the Golden Age, it was different, nobody esteemed money and poverty was respected. There was no private property but everything was in common. People were content to enjoy what nature offered them without work. But when the plough was invented men began to crave for gain at the expense of others. Brant highly praises honest poverty and even says that everything of greatness has sprung from it. Rome was built by poor shepherds and long ruled by poor peasants. When it became rich and powerful, however, civil war broke out and destroyed its liberty. This was the origin of the imperial power, which then was transferred to the Germans. Brant hopes that God will extend the Empire over all countries. But the Germans have by their disunity and mutual rivalry greatly decreased the power and glory of the Empire and its situation has become grave through the Turkish menace. Yet Maximilian will ward off the danger and restore the greatness of the Empire if the Germans will stand behind him in concord. Brant ends on a note of pessimism in regard to the fate of the world. Church, State and Society are tossed about in the storm of the time; the Christians practise their faith less than Jews, heathen and Tartars.

The Antichrist is coming and the day of the Last Judgment is near. The wisdom of the world is folly before God and little children are wiser than all the great thinkers of the past.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF PARTICULARISM AND OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE

THE political mentality developed by the division of Germany into numerous States is known as Particularism. It became a specific kind of separatism tending to prevent the rise of a strong central authority and thereby also frustrating any advance towards national unity and solidarity. This factor has determined Germany's political and cultural characteristics more than anything else, for a long time directly, and later by arousing in reaction, a strong striving for national unity, prestige and power. The kernel of a State usually consisted in an old royal fief connected with the judicial rights of a count, and around it many other lands and rights were acquired by the noble house possessing it until they formed a tolerably coherent and rounded-off territory with full power of government over it. It often took hundreds of years till this aim was achieved. The nobles and prelates within the envisaged territory strongly resisted the efforts of a prince to subject them to his power, and even the lower class of nobles, the knights, tried to assert their independence. In many cases the princes reached their aim, in others the nobles were the winners. Swabia, Franconia and the Rhinelands were territories where the forces of separatism were particularly successful, and these parts were, therefore, full of Free Knights and Free Towns who recognised the Emperor only as their overlord, but no prince.

The possessions of a prince comprised several or many historic units whose Estates and populations had no sentiment of forming one people. In consequence they were as a rule indifferent when partitions took place between heirs, provided the historic units remained intact. The number of small States therefore constantly

increased. In the thirteenth century there were ninety-three bishops and abbots who were full princes of the realm and fourteen temporal princes. A century later the number of lay princes had risen to forty-four and it continued to increase. Further there were numerous counts, prelates and knights who officially had not the rank of princes but nevertheless were rulers of a territory. Large parts of Germany were gradually converted into tiny fragments of lands often unfitted to fulfil the task of a State or to give rise to a sense of nationality. Moreover, there was a maze of unconnected rights of government. If other parts of Germany were preserved from this fate, this was due to various factors. The ecclesiastical principalities were not subject to partition since inheritance did not apply. Some princes, in particular margraves, who had to defend the frontiers, had always had more compact territories and rights of government, and many princes at last recognised the evils of partition and sought to overcome or avoid them. The striving to acquire territories needed to form a viable state, in particular enclaves or plots separating lands of a ruler, provoked endless conflicts and feuds between princes, which left their marks on the public spirit.

The formation of States was largely effected by transactions resembling the acquisition of private property. The States assumed a patrimonial character, especially where the prince was also the greatest landowner. Gradually, however, counterforces arose which led to the accentuation of the public character of rulership. The Estates and the officials became the most important factors working in this sense. Since the fourteenth century diets of the influential classes, called the Estates, obtained important influence on the rulers. From the patrimonial standpoint the prince had to defray the expense of his public tasks from the returns of his domains and was not entitled to lay new taxes on his subjects, though he usually possessed certain old dues, tolls, and so on. The building of States, however, cost money, and most princes did not understand how to reckon. They were soon overburdened with debts and had to apply to the Estates for financial aid. These were very reluctant and granted it at first only as something quite exceptional which should not occur again. In all cases they laid great stress upon the principle that their consent was absolutely necessary for raising taxes. In this way the Estates as a rule gained decisive influence on the government, especially in times when the princes were involved in conflicts with rivals or were minors or

unable to rule. In such cases the Estates often acted as arbiters or appointed a regency and used the opportunity to acquire privileges for themselves. They often dominated the councils of the prince and strongly protested when the prince called in outsiders as advisers. It sometimes happened that the Estates compelled a prince to recognise their right of armed resistance should he violate their privileges or that of electing another ruler.

The diets originally represented only the interest of their members, but later they more or less approached the character of little parliaments claiming to speak for the country as a whole. At first the decisions bound those only who had consented, but later the vote of the majority was regarded as binding all. The diets comprised mostly three colleges, those of the prelates, knights and towns. Each voted separately, and a common resolution had to be reached by agreement among the colleges. Wurttemberg had no colleges; the nobles and knights soon kept aloof from the diet, which was, therefore, eventually composed of a few prelates and the deputies of the towns only, who mostly were elected in assemblies attended also by representatives of the peasantry. In the Tyrol too the peasants were represented in the diet. Their deputies were elected by all peasants, great and small, free and unfree. All the four Estates voted together and the majority of votes decided. The peasants were also represented in the diets of some other territories, though mostly at a somewhat later period, for example in Friesland, Austrian Swabia, Vorarlberg, Ansbach-Bayreuth, Treves and Kempten. In most territories, however, they had no seats in the diet, though they usually had some form of local autonomy and in certain regions had retained rights of judicature, even in capital cases. The deputies of the towns were nominated by the town councils, which were partly in the hands of privileged families, partly elected by the burghers. In some cases the knights elected deputies to the Estates, e.g. in Prussia, but as a rule every knight possessing certain qualifications could appear personally. The principle of election was, therefore, much less developed than in England, and this distinguished the Estates from a real Parliament.

The Estates often vigorously opposed plans of partitioning their territory, but were also against any unification of a prince's different possessions into one State. Several territories under the same prince retained their separate diets. Subjects of the prince living in a neighbouring territory were regarded as foreigners who must be excluded from appointments. The Estates

did not entirely disregard the interests of the common man. The prelates claimed that the Church took care of his welfare, and the knights were interested in safe-guarding their serfs against ruin. They protested against abuses of princes, such as extravagant expenses for their courts, and excessive game-keeping or hunting to the detriment of the crops. The deputies of the towns, too, sometimes spoke up for the lower classes. But on the whole the Estates were bulwarks of class egoism. The squires used their power of the purse to obtain from the princes jurisdiction over their peasants and to put the taxes voted on their shoulders. Where the Estates had particularly great power the lot of the peasantry was often worse than elsewhere. The towns used their influence in the Estates to establish their trade monopolies at the expense of the rural people, whom they tried to exclude from any competition in trade and industries. The knights often opposed this attempt. The Estates usually also laid great stress on expelling the Jews, while the princes rather protected them, though the Estates often changed their minds by means of financial grants.

The Estates later kept the taxes voted in their own custody. They and the princes had separate financial administrations; in the course of time they were also to organise different bodies of troops and sometimes even made different foreign policies. This shows how imperfect the integration of most territories remained. The prince and the Estates were not considered organs of the higher personality of the State or of a united nation but were regarded as different parties, who each had rights of their own and, therefore, made laws or exercised public powers in the form of treaties concluded between independent partners.

In the diets the college of the towns was the principal source of finance, since the knights often contended that their duty was only to defend the country by the sword. The princes, therefore, encouraged the participation of the towns in the territorial parliaments. The towns as a rule enjoyed great self-government. They often bought from the prince almost all the rights of government, and his power dwindled thereby to a minimum or even became merely nominal. It often happened that a town did not permit their prince to keep a garrison within its walls and, when he wished to visit the town the burghers insisted that he should come without an armed retinue. Many towns in the territories had a position similar to that of a Free Town of the Empire and hoped eventually to shed also the last remnants of subjection to a prince and to reach the full status of a Free

Town. This was a cause of many quarrels with the princes.

The Reichstag was farther removed from the idea of a representation of the people than many diets. It developed from an assembly of the great vassals (Hoftag), and only late, by the admission of the Free Towns, assumed a certain representative aspect. The knights or gentry, who were such an important element in the English Parliament and also in the German Diets, did not become members, though they had sometimes been invited. The princes in the Reichstag often refused to vote taxes because they feared that their diets would turn them down, and the diets refused their consent because of the risk that new financial burdens might lead to revolts of the people. In this indirect way the common man had also some influence on the Reichstag. The model of the diets may, however, have contributed to the progress made in the organisation and procedure of the Reichstag in the fifteenth century. The pressure of the Hussites and the Turks and the internal anarchy made this necessary. While the Reichstag in the preceding century was mainly dominated by the electors, now the other Estates of the Empire gained in importance; and at the close of the century the Reichstag consisted of the three colleges of the electors, the princes and the towns. The latter, however, possessed lesser rights than the two first named groups. The emperor laid his proposals before all three colleges, which then deliberated separately and either accepted them or elaborated counter-proposals. The colleges then tried to reach an agreement, and if this proved difficult, the emperor acted as mediator. But if the two higher colleges had worked out a common proposition, the protest of the towns could not prevent it from becoming law by the emperor's sanction. As a rule, however, the electors and princes negotiated with the towns to bring about a general agreement. The towns mostly distrusted the emperor and were reluctant to commit themselves to anything. Towards the close of the century, however, they began to change their attitude, and in the sixteenth century they demanded equality with the princes. That each college decided by majority was the usage already in the fifteenth century, but the principle that those Estates who were absent were also bound prevailed only since Charles V. For the Reichstag of 1471 writs were sent out to fifty-nine ecclesiastical princes, twenty-eight other princes, sixty-five counts and barons and eighty Free Towns. The counts, barons and lesser prelates had not the same voting power as the princes but formed a few groups called benches, of which each had a collective vote.

A further important measure in the building of territorial States was the creation of a professional class of paid administrators. This process took place in many small steps which gradually replaced the feudal forms of administration by more modern ones. The pioneers in developing a non-feudal administration were the Church and the Free Towns. The Church created a hierarchy of functionaries, especially trained for their tasks, subject to supervision and discipline and ascending by promotion. She initiated also many other principles of modern administration, such as the exact formulation of rules, the use of written records and archives, accountancy, payment of salaries in money, and so on. The Free Towns had been the first to develop a civil service by officials. At the court of the princes, however, the central government was long predominantly feudal. The chancellery consisted of a few clerics; the traditional household offices of court-master, chamberlain, marshal, lord steward and cup-bearer were hereditary functions of nobles who left the work to deputies, and the counsellors were mostly vassals living on their estates, who from time to time came to the castle where the prince was staying to advise him, to administer justice, and so on. Most of the administration and judicature was local and carried out orally without written records. The knights acted as local officials for a share in the fees or rented the office or succeeded in converting it into a hereditary fief.

England and France were early able to develop a centralised administration based on well-ordered finance and payment in money, though here, too, this was only reached step by step. But in the Empire the plans to create an effective administration failed. In the territories, however, important advances towards this aim were made. The local administration by knights was very inadequate; they cared more for their own interests than for those of the prince, and the people were often exposed to arbitrary exactions. The princes, therefore, began to employ for certain tasks trained administrators from the towns. They travelled from court to court serving a prince for some time or several simultaneously and had more the character of independent experts than that of officials. Later the princes engaged also permanent advisers who lived at court, were provided with the necessities of life and sometimes a little money or gifts and could expect as final reward an ecclesiastical prebend or a fief. Sometimes their post with its fees was farmed out to them. Payment of fixed salaries developed but slowly. The taking of

bribes and gifts from parties or from foreign princes was tolerated for centuries.

It must be remembered that the princes themselves had for very long no fixed seats but travelled from castle to castle. This gave government a personal character and hindered the rise of an impersonal administration and the separation of the State from the ruler. It was a great progress, indeed, when a staff of permanent and professional counsellors began to function at fixed places. It soon became the rule that they deliberated together and decided by majority, and gradually they became a body with collective responsibility. This was designed to secure impartiality by mutual control. They further began to develop specialised councils for general government, finances, military matters, and so on. The prince was often only consulted in important matters. In this way fixed rules were established and forms devised which became the foundations of a civil service. The idea was bound to emerge that the State was an impersonal institution higher than any individual and destined to serve the reign of law and general welfare. In the late Middle Ages only a beginning was made, and the full development took centuries. But the germs were there as soon as justice and administration became independent from the prince's personal decision. In the future, power ever more passed into the hands of the bureaucracy, which often became the real ruler.

In the fifteenth century the administration by officials made progress in many territories. It was mainly the larger ones which were leading, while in small principalities the ruler could more easily manage without a specialised staff. In territories where the knights and the towns possessed decisive influence on the local administration the princes were long hindered in developing one outside their own domains. Certain countries, however, succeeded in creating an efficient executive, in particular Austria, Bavaria and Cleve-Mark. The higher nobles long considered it beneath their dignity to serve a prince, and the lower ones were mostly lacking the necessary training for complicated tasks. The princes were, therefore, compelled to employ in higher posts mainly jurists from the middle class. Almost all the great chancellors and State-builders of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were of non-noble origin, though they sometimes received titles as reward and because the nobles refused to be judged by jurists who were not of their rank. The emperors, too, employed men from the middle class in high offices. Kaspar Schlick, a man of burgher origin, was chancellor of Sigismund,

Albrecht II and Frederick III and ascended to the rank of a Prince of the Empire. Soon, however, many nobles too began to study the law.

In military matters the princes long depended on the services of their knighthood and the burghers, and when the country was threatened by aggression they might also call up the common people or hire mercenaries if they had the money for their wages and equipment. But there were no standing armies, and the princes disposed of a small bodyguard only for their own security. The Estates did everything to prevent the princes from creating a military power which might be used against them also. In the Middle Ages the princes had no chance of ruling against the wishes of the privileged classes and more or less depended on their good will. Not seldom, however, they tried to play off one class against the other. Many were in tacit alliance with the burghers against the knights, or in the towns with the common people against the patricians.

If one reads the opinion of Italian humanists, it would seem that the German princes and nobles of the time were entirely uncultured and only interested in excessive drinking and the chase. This type was actually wide-spread. The history of the time is further full of incessant wars and feuds between princes and between these and towns. A considerable number of princes have left an evil memory. Even princes of milder disposition were often carried away by the violence of the time and involved in much bloodshed. But the history of the territories shows also numerous rulers who had great merits in safeguarding peace and justice, in promoting cultural and economic progress and in caring for the welfare of the people. A few examples referring to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries may serve as illustrations.

In Austria the development of unity, wealth and culture started early. The Babenbergs already had a good record. In the time of the Habsburgs, Albrecht II called the Wise laid down the indivisibility of his realm (1355). Rudolph IV was a far-sighted, ambitious and unscrupulous ruler, who during his short reign realised many progressive ideas. Albrecht III and Albrecht V., too, reigned in a beneficial way. Soon, however, partitions of the Habsburg territories set in again. In the Tyrol Frederick IV was efficient in breaking the power of the nobles, raising the wealth of his country and furthering the interests of the common people.

The Wittelsbach dynasty had two branches of whom one

reigned over the Palatinate while the other ruled Bavaria. Some of the Counts Palatine were excellent rulers, especially Rupert I and Frederick I. In Bavaria the Dukes early began to create a unitary State which, however, was repeatedly partitioned again. This led to fierce struggles within the family, which devastated the country. Some of the Dukes were more wild warriors than rulers. Several of them, however, had great merits as organisers of administration and patrons of progress and were particularly efficient in finance. In the history of the fifteenth century three of the Bavarian Dukes were surnamed 'the Rich'.

The South West of Germany once formed the Duchy of Swabia which, however, after the fall of the Hohenstaufens was split up into numerous small territories. It is noteworthy that almost all the leading German dynasties were of Swabian origin: the Hohenstaufens, the Welfs, the Habsburgs and the Hohenzollerns. The Wettins and the Ascanians, further, came from North-Swabia, a land in Northern Germany inhabited by Swabians. After the Interregnum the Habsburgs and the Counts of Wurttemberg were foremost in acquiring many small possessions in Swabia. Wurttemberg was formed from these fragments. Great progress was made under Eberhard V, the Bearded, who since a pilgrimage to the Holy Land wore a long beard because this was considered a sign of humility. He was one of the best princes of his time, a man of peace and indefatigable in his care for the welfare and civilisation of his people.

In Central Germany the Landgrave of Hesse, Lewis I the Peaceable, left a very good memory. Pope Pius II said that he was the only prince who never in his life had passed an unjust sentence. In the North the old house of Welf was weakened by countless divisions of their territories and family strife. In Brandenburg a new epoch began with the advent of the Hohenzollerns (1415). The Margrave and Elector Frederick I was an outstanding personality. Ranke calls him a political genius of the first rank full of original ideas and of the talent to realise them. He was very knowledgeable and cultured and, though a good warrior, primarily an excellent diplomat with a special propensity and skill for appeasing apparently irreconcilable enmities and bringing about compromises. He once called himself in a charter a humble bailiff of God responsible to Him for his conduct as a ruler. He tried to extend and stabilise his power in his territory but devoted still more of his energy to the affairs of the Empire, such as the great Councils, the Hussite wars and the reform of the Empire. His son, Frederick II suppressed the robberies and

feuds of the knights and curbed the striving of the towns, especially of Berlin, for republican independence. He was succeeded by his brother Albrecht II, who was an extremely warlike, aggressive and cunning prince and to whom the humanists not only gave the surname Achilles but also that of the German Fox. In Brandenburg his successor was Margrave John, who was a patron of humanism and founded a university.

Between Brandenburg and Bohemia the Wettin dynasty reigned, whose main possessions were later called Saxony and who had also inherited Thuringia. In 1423 they received the electoral dignity. But the principle that electorates should not be partitioned was not obeyed. The Wettins were during most of their history particularly prone to dividing their lands among heirs again and again. Saxony possessed great resources in her fertile soil, her rich mines, her weaving industry, the waterway of the Elbe and the crossing of great trade routes on her territory. The Dukes therefore received early the means to create central institutions and on their domains also an advanced local administration. But in the greater part of the country the latter were in the hands of the nobles, knights and towns. The greater towns, in particular, gradually bought from the Dukes almost all the rights of government within their boundaries.

Bohemia was part of the Empire, and her king was even the first in rank among the secular Electors, though most of the kings were Slavs. There were also other princes of Slav origin such as the Dukes of Mecklenburgh, Pomerania and Silesia, who, however, in the course of time became Germans. But in earlier times a considerable part of the Empire in the North East consisted of Slav territories ruled by Slav princes.

Ecclesiastical States occupied a great part of Germany. The bishops were elected by the canons, who mostly belonged to the nobility and laid great stress on the number of noble ancestors. Some chapters, for example Cologne, were particularly aristocratic and admitted only princes, counts and barons, while Mayence, Treves, Wuerzburg and others preferred lower nobles of ministerial origin. Most of the noble canons did not become priests but took only the lower orders and could at any time leave their post and marry. Few non-nobles had even a chance of becoming a canon, though the Pope or the emperor sometimes compelled the chapters to accept one. Pope Nicholas V, a man of low origin who became the first great patron of humanism made Nicholas Cusanus Bishop overriding the will of the chapter of Brixen. When he ordered the Austrian Church to obey

the emperor, most of the bishops took no notice of this instruction, and the canons of Passau declared that the Pope was no nobleman and had no right to give them orders, and that the Emperor was no good. The Conciliary movement led to agreements between the Pope and the princes, which accorded great rights to the latter. The princes used their influence to install their younger sons in profitable posts as archbishops or bishops. But noble families also were very keen on accumulating rich prebends. In the fifteenth century, for example, the Counts of Hoya possessed four Westphalian and Lower Saxon bishoprics and strove for a fifth.

The German Church had always been governed predominantly by prelates of noble origin. But in former times the kings had exercised a firm control over them and had a decisive voice in choosing a bishop. With the decay of the central power, however, first the Pope and later the German princes and local nobles gained the preponderant power. But at the same time, the constant internal strife due to the weakness of the kings effected a decline in the morality and the cultural level of the noblemen and, in consequence, also in that of the bishops, abbots and canons. Since the old times the type of bishop who was more a feudal lord and a ruthless warrior than a model of a Christian was particularly frequent in Germany. When in the Interregnum Richard of Cornwall was elected German King by a party he wrote to his nephew Edward how surprisingly warlike and fierce the German archbishops were and wished to have similar ones in England. German history shows a long series of bishops who, as princes of territories, waged aggressive wars and committed the greatest cruelties against the population. Many noble prelates further led a scandalous life and gave no attention to their religious and other duties. A significant symptom was also the decline in literacy which can still be traced in old charters on which high prelates often had not been able to affix their signatures. Already towards the end of the thirteenth century it happened that the Abbot of St. Gall, a Count of Montfort, and all the friars could not write their names. The Count, however, was a minnesinger. In the fourteenth century hardly one of the canons of Brixen could sign his name, and in Minden only the minority. In Meissen the prior and four canons were illiterate. When in 1362 the learned John Schadland became Bishop of Hildesheim he asked where the library was, and the canons conducted him to the armoury and told him here were the things which the bishops had hitherto had in hand to defend the

Church against neighbours wanting to despoil her. A few years later five fishermen were arrested for poaching upon the fishery of the Abbot Mangold of Reichenau and brought before this lord. The Abbot sentenced them to blinding, the usual penalty for this crime, and, as the chronicler of Constance says: 'the spiritual father put out the eyes of the fishermen with his own fingers and sent them blind to Constance.' He later became bishop of this town. The reputation of the German bishops in the thirteenth century was characterised in the remark of a Frenchman that he could believe a great deal but what he could not believe was that a German bishop's soul should go to heaven. Actually the French Church, though also feudalised and infected by the prevalent spirit of the nobility, still had a better record in piety and learning than her German sister.

Yet, there have at all times been in Germany, too, prelates who were true Christians and who have left a good record as rulers. Ebeling has collected in a book biographical notes of ca. 1300 German bishops up to the end of the sixteenth century, where one can find ample proof of this. Ecclesiastics like Albertus Magnus, Master Eckhart and Engelbert of Admont were of noble origin. With the advent of humanism the cultural interest of the German nobility increased.

The growth of German particularism had great consequences both in international relations and in regard to the mind of the peoples. Among the princes there had already been for centuries many who received subsidies from foreign kings, especially France and England, and had served their policy. In 1445 the Electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, Treves and Cologne concluded a formal alliance with France. They also hoped to be able to get hold of German towns with French help. A year before, King Charles VII had declared to the deputies of the town of Metz that this town belonged to the crown of France, but the deputies strongly protested and Metz and Toul applied to the Emperor for protection. When a French embassy, together with the Electors of Treves and Cologne, appeared before Strassburg in order to induce this city to enter into negotiations with France, they were not admitted and the city declined all negotiations. The French King also told an ambassador that France must have the land up to the Rhine. He would stir up trouble for the Emperor in Hungary and he did not fear the German princes. But the King confessed to fearing the towns and peasants. Many princes saw in the King of France a counter-weight to the Emperor and adopted the habit of visiting Paris, partly to enter into personal relations with the

French court, partly to enjoy the amenities of this city. They also sent their sons to France to be educated there. Numerous German noblemen and soldiers served in the King's army. All this later contributed to the rise of French ideas of absolutism among German princes, too.

As mentioned already, the territorial diets sometimes made their own foreign policy in opposition to their rulers. The most conspicuous case was the revolt of the Prussian Estates against the Teutonic Order. They offered Prussia to the King of Poland because this country seemed to them the ideal State where the aristocracy could do as they pleased. The King accepted only after long hesitation.

The growth of particularism had also a considerable influence in creating prejudices between German peoples, which often maintained themselves through centuries. Many proverbs and popular sayings have been preserved referring to the mentality of German peoples and put in circulation by their neighbours. In most cases they attribute to them certain vices, less often they point out favourable traits. There was a sort of national enmity between Bavarians and Austrians, though both were largely of the same tribal origin. Emperor Maximilian I once said that Bavarian and Austrian blood, if put into the same pot, would quarrel and try to eject one another. The Bavarians and Swabians, the Swabians and the Swiss were also indefatigable in heaping abuse upon each other, though they all were close relatives. Similar cases could be found all over Germany. Giraldus Cambrensis relates that in Germany a malefactor is usually called a 'false Saxon' whichever his tribe may be.

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THE EFFECT OF PARTICULARISM ON THE LAW AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

IN the course of the Middle Ages social and intellectual developments rendered the old Germanic forms of justice obsolete, and required fundamental changes. The old law was designed for primitive conditions; it treated all legal relations in the form of criminal justice, recognised private vengeance and self-help, and disregarded both the public interest and the motives of an offence. Procedure was extremely formalistic, and with small exceptions knew neither public prosecution nor weighing of evidence. The Church and the Carolingian kings leaned to reforms, but the public mind clung to the tradition that the old law must not be changed. The institutions of compurgation and ordeals were particularly liable to miscarriage of justice and misuse. The Church strongly deprecated the alleged judgments of God, and in 1215 forbade priests to take part in them. The idea that self-help by force was lawful led to unending feuds and other acts of violence. The Church and the kings made great efforts to bring about some measure of appeasement. For a long time the kings pursued this aim less by legislation than by the conclusion of regional peace compacts (*Landfrieden*), which was significant for the state of the public mind. The old idea that a crime was merely a violation of the right of the person injured, and that retribution was to be left to him and his kin, slowly gave way to the principle that it was also a breach of the public peace, and that the community had to prosecute and punish the evil-doer. The Germanic view that every crime might be atoned for by paying a compensation to the injured party and a fee to the judge prevailed up to the twelfth century; but in a time of increasing violence it had no deterrent effect, least of all on powerful

nobles. In consequence, criminal justice began to punish grave crimes by death or mutilation.

But also the other elements of the old system became ever more incompatible with the requirements of progress, or were condemned by the Christian conscience, such as the position of women, children and serfs. Many evils were further caused by the rise of feudalism. The Carolingian counts ceased to be royal officials, and became owners of heritable fiefs. Their courts of justice thereby assumed to a great extent the character of private property, and the owners regarded them mainly as a source of profits. The great mass of free men sunk to the status of serfs, or of men of diminished freedom. The countless differences in their legal and social conditions alone were an obstacle to any effective reform. Feudalism increasingly split society into classes differing in legal status, having their special privileges, and separate rules and courts of law. The Church had already under the Frankish kings secured the exemption of the clergy from the criminal jurisdiction of the State, and judged them in their own courts. Further, the Church asserted also the right to pass judgment on laymen in all delicts regarded as sinful, and to grant asylum to offenders who had fled to a church. Separate ecclesiastical courts were established, and the Church acquired also numerous temporal courts situated on her lands. Eventually a great many cases were subject both to the temporal and the ecclesiastical justice, or to the latter alone. The principles of the Church's justice greatly differed from those of the temporal powers. Her aim was not revenge, but the reconciliation of the soul of the sinner with God, and his moral reformation. To this end the motives of the crime committed had to be examined. The old Germanic law punished the deed as such, even if committed without intention, in error, or by accident. The justice of the Church, however, laid stress upon the intention. It was the state of the soul which was important, even if it had not expressed itself in an external action, and if no individual rights had been violated, as for example in the holding of heretical opinions. In regard to penalties the Church abhorred the shedding of blood and cruel punishments, and, if they seemed unavoidable, left them to a lay authority. Procedure, too, owed improvements to the Church. Already in Carolingian times she had begun to find out evil-doers by a public inquest, and to prosecute them (*Sendgericht*). In the later Middle Ages a form of procedure was introduced which had been developed in Italy, and definitely formulated by Pope Innocent III. It was the inquisitorial pro-

cedure, which was based on the principle that the court itself had to do everything to ascertain the truth instead of leaving this to the parties. The advantages of the new institution were, however, soon countervailed by the facts that in the trials secret informers were heard and the defendant not necessarily informed of their evidence, and that, if the circumstances gave good grounds for suspicion, torture could be employed to enforce a confession.

An important source of innovations was the law of the towns. These were endowed with their own law-books and courts exhibiting an anti-feudal spirit. The ordeal of battle and the rights of feud and blood-revenge disappeared. New towns received the code of an older one, and in difficult cases consulted the mother towns for guidance. This exercised a unifying influence on the development of law. German merchants further founded numerous towns in wide tracts of North and East Europe, and German town law, therefore, spread widely in the Baltic countries, Scandinavia, Poland, Russia, Hungary, and Bohemia. The courts of the towns had benches of Schoeffen (law-men, jurors) who by their judgments did much to develop modern principles. The legal position of women and children was improved. Serfs who had lived in the town for a year were declared free. The old rigorous formalism in procedure gave way to more rational ways. The law of commerce, navigation, and bankruptcy was formulated. But the town laws often developed also very hideous features which will presently be noted.

The overcoming of the obsolete forms of justice was a very gradual process, which in the various territories took place at different times. In general, however, the thirteenth century was the epoch, when most of the new developments got into their stride. The tribal principle came to an end. The king ceased to travel through the territories exercising his right as supreme judge. In the territories the courts of justice began to differentiate according to rank. Higher and lower courts emerged and the upper classes sued and were tried at a higher court than the common man, who could, however, appeal to the higher one. In all courts the judgment was found by a bench of lawmen, mostly seven or twelve of them, who were experienced in the Germanic customs, but had seldom studied the Roman and Canon law. Everybody could only be judged by lawmen of his own, or higher, rank. In consequence, the High Court at the seat of the prince, which was competent for the trials of the nobility, comprised also noblemen and doctors of the Roman law who were

considered equal in rank to them. In the other courts the bench consisted of Schoeffen, who had to be free men and possess freehold property. Originally all free men were eligible, but in some territories the lower sections were later excluded. Eventually the Schoeffen were in the rural districts mainly free ministerials, or knights, and in the towns burghers. The office of Schoeffe became inheritable, though there were also cases in which they were elected by town councils or designated by the presiding judge. The courts for the lower classes had also benches of lawmen who were often elected by the peasants. If these were unfree, the lord had to confirm the election.

The old Hundred Courts attended by all the freeman in most parts gradually came to an end, though there were places where they survived in modified forms. This was, for example, the case in Bavaria. Here the peasants, though they were serfs, could appear at the sittings of the courts, called Schranne, and the lawmen were mainly taken from their ranks. In Upper Bavaria, however, the judge first looked up Emperor Lewis Code of Bavarian Law as to whether the case was decided there, and asked the lawmen only if nothing was said about it. Else the clause of the Code was decisive. In Lower Bavaria the Code had not been introduced, and the judgment was found by the lawmen according to the old customs. In 1753 a law changed this, though the form was preserved.

Feudalism when developed to patrimonialism, led to the rise of countless local and social diversities of law, and to the dissolution of the public powers into disconnected particles. In the same village different families or houses might be subject to different lords, and even the same person might be under several different jurisdictions according to the case. Moreover, the splitting up of Germany into numerous little territories and the lack of a strong central power fostered the growth of insecurity. A malefactor with a horse could be quickly beyond the frontier, and extradition did not exist. But there were also many asylums such as churches, monasteries, manor houses, mills, inns, or ferries where he could not be arrested. He could from there negotiate with the authorities, and was often permitted to escape, if he promised to leave the district and not to return for a long time. The law further often left offenders to the grace of the judge, and a noble or rich man easily found mercy for an adequate consideration.

The glaring faults of the judiciary system led since the end of the fourteenth century to the rise of the Vehmgericht. Its

origin was Westphalia, where the peasants were mostly free-men and where the old courts had survived. Here it operated openly; but when it later spread to many other parts of Germany, its activities were shrouded in mystery, and it became a huge secret society. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries it had many thousands of fellows in every station and place, all over Germany. Princes, bishops and nobles and even emperors supported it. The Vehme dealt only with capital crimes and its only penalty was death. Three fellows were in an emergency enough to meet in secret session and to pass the death sentence. The convict was hanged on the next tree. This summary justice, however, bred flagrant abuses, and a strong reaction arose, which led to its decline.

The lawlessness of a great section of the German nobles has been noted by many writers. Berthold of Regensburg said that almost all German nobles were robbers and perpetrators of other crimes, and he added that more French nobles would enter heaven than German ones. The comparison is significant, since we have much evidence that also in France a great part of the nobility committed awful atrocities against the people. The famous minstrel, Bertrand de Born, expressed their ethos in saying that the peasant must be oppressed, maltreated and starved, else he would become insolent. But in France the rise of a powerful monarchy diminished the feudal lawlessness. In Germany strong princes sometimes succeeded in securing peace and order within their lands, and also the towns enforced it as far as their power extended. But many princes had to close their eyes because they needed the knights for their own internal wars. In Switzerland feud was entirely forbidden in 1291 already. But blood-revenge, which was open to every non-noble also, survived and remained legitimate in Switzerland until the seventeenth century. In Holstein blood-revenge and feud were permitted to the peasants up to the end of the sixteenth century. Though the waging of feud was in most territories a privilege of the nobility, many non-nobles, too, made use of it, often covered by a knight who took up their cause. It is noteworthy that the robber knights not seldom enjoyed the sympathy of the common man, especially if they ambushed and plundered the wagons loaded with precious merchandise belonging to a rich trader. Many a famous highwayman was celebrated in song by the people. Besides feuds, moreover, there were also other forms of self-help. If a burgher had suffered some real, or alleged, wrong at the hand of a burgher of another town, his own town council often authorised re-

prisals against any other citizen of the offender's town, on whom they could lay hands. Private distraint was to a great extent legal and widely practised. Such conditions were then widespread also in other countries, e.g. among the Italian towns. But even in England the towns long exercised, on grounds of special privileges, the right of retaliation (*withernam*) against other towns. The Statute of Westminster of 1275 and further ones then abolished this, but some towns regarded it as not valid because a law, they said, could not abolish older rights. This was the old Germanic principle, and it is significant that even in England with her strong monarchy it long survived in the minds of the people.

The customs of the nobles were often imitated by men from the lower classes, too, and there were many feuds undertaken by workers. In 1471, for example, six cobbler apprentices of Leipsig sent a declaration of feud to the University. They said they had been insulted by students and had not received justice. In consequence, they would henceforth take revenge in every way on all students of the University. Saxony was then jointly ruled by brothers, the Dukes Ernest and Albert, who ordered the arrest of the cobblers on the ground that they had not brought an action against the students at a court of law and, therefore, were not entitled to declare feud. It is not known what happened further. But the edict of the Dukes implies the view that denial of justice justified self-help.

A further source of the dreadful state of insecurity was that large sections of the people were treated as outcasts and thereby compelled to live on crime. The *Saxon Mirror* contains many examples of the contempt in which certain sections of the population were held, for example such of illegitimate birth, unfree labourers, and people engaged in certain disreputable occupations. The craft guilds further excluded many people and their children from admission and thereby from learning and practising a trade. They also fixed the number of masters, and when one of these died gave priority in succeeding him to his next relatives. The bulk of the workers in crafts was thereby prevented from becoming masters. The victory of the democratic artisans in the struggles for influence on the town governments led also to the seclusion of the towns against newcomers from outside who might become competitors or might increase the urban proletariat. Domestic and municipal servants and so-called 'bad people' were sometimes exempted from the peace of the town, and it depended on the discretion of the authorities, whether they were

protected against maltreatment. Social discrimination, therefore, made it often so difficult to live by honest work, that large sections of the people were induced to become robbers and thieves.

The growing number of criminals and anti-socials, and the fact that for many reasons it was difficult to bring them to bay, led to the striving to deter them from crime by particularly hard punishment, even for small offences. In the older times the towns were much milder than later. But already the Augsburg Statutes of 1276 were written in blood. Nuremberg, too, was marked by ghastly cruelty, and Conrad Celtes, in a book written in praise of the town, gives a terrible picture of her criminal justice. He remarks, however, that cruel penalties only increased the number of crimes. The monk, Felix Fabri, a Swabian, declared that among the many cruelties of the Germans the state of their prisons and torturing were particularly conspicuous. The South German towns were later in general more pitiless than the North German ones. The burghers laid particular stress upon protecting by every means their property against thieves and burglars. In Freiburg people polluting a municipal fountain or offering violence to a night-watchman were liable to the death penalty. The Augsburg law provided that thieves intruding into an orchard should lose a hand. In Nuremberg for some time women who had committed ordinary theft were buried alive, and in 1320 the town received a royal privilege that persons dangerous to the community might be put into sacks and drowned together with their children. The inquisitorial procedure, which had early been adopted in the towns, was often used in a way most unjust and cruel to a person who was a vagrant and had a bad reputation. If the majority of the town council came to the conclusion that he was a notorious enemy of law and order, the court had no scruples in condemning him to death.

Towards the end of the Middle Ages professional jurists trained in the Roman law became more numerous in the courts and governments. They aroused the violent opposition of wide circles interested in the maintenance of the old order and were very unpopular. But whatever their faults may have been, they elaborated many important principles, brought logic and unity into the prevailing confusion and stimulated juristic thought. Despite all obstacles and aberrations law and justice made progress. A movement for the reform of criminal law arose and various attempts were made at a codification. The most important

work of this kind was the criminal code of the bishopric of Bamberg (1507), compiled by Baron Johann Schwarzenberg, a most remarkable personality. He was not a learned jurist and knew no Latin. But with the help of others he elaborated a code based on Italian, Roman and German law, which was regarded as a model and had a great influence on the whole further development of German penal law. Schwarzenberg was a very humane and just man and distinguished himself also as a statesman, friend of the Reformation, writer and poet. But also his law-book was inspired by the desire to deter people from crime by cruel penalties.

Relations between ranks were also expressed in the strong legal significance of the principle of equal birth (*Ebenbürtigkeit*). In a great many respects a man could have normal relations only with a partner of equal birth. In land-law nobody needed accept a man of lower birth as a judge, juror, partner in judicial battle, witness, guardian, heir, etc. Only persons of equal rank could conclude a proper marriage without prejudice to the children. The admission to the ranks of the nobility was made increasingly difficult. The kings later found ways of conferring the nobility on low-born men in their confidence, but the old nobles looked askance. Towards the close of the Middle Ages the number of noble forebears required for admittance to tournaments and certain profitable posts was increased to eight, or even sixteen ancestors. Families of old nobility further began to look down upon such of younger title. If many nobles regarded the burghers as inferior beings, these had similar feelings towards the peasants. The urban population itself, however, more and more showed deep cleavages between the classes. At the top were the patricians, then came the new rich, the artisans, their workers, the newcomers and people who were not burghers, the Jews, and so on. In the fourteenth century a great democratic movement swept the towns, leading to many revolts. The upper classes were in many towns deprived of their influence, or forced to emigrate. In Nuremberg, however, the patricians understood to maintain their authority intact, and their far-sighted policy was responsible for the splendid development of wealth and culture. In many of the democratic towns the new regime did not lead to the abolition of inequality, corruption and exploitation. Towards the proletarians and the peasants in the surroundings, the towns dominated by the artisans followed a very egoistical policy.

An old sore in town life was the enmity between the burghers

and the clergy, or sections of the latter. The town people hated the rich monasteries, which refused to pay municipal taxes and to submit to the municipal court, but claimed the right to sell products from their farms and workshops in competition with urban producers. But the clergy, too, was divided into many sections mutually hostile to one another. The secular priests bitterly complained of competition by the friars in religious functions which brought fees; the latter were also for other reasons the object of much criticism and were themselves divided by the old rivalry between Franciscans and Dominicans, and so on. There was a great clerical proletariat imbued with bitterness against their exploiters, the prelates.

The gravest problem, however, which the closing Middle Ages left to posterity was the condition of the peasantry. In the thirteenth century they had made good progress on the road towards freedom and prosperity, but later this trend was reversed, and towards the close of the age their lot had, on the whole, greatly deteriorated again. It was both economic and political conditions which were the cause. The building of territorial States required much money. Enlightened princes often realised that it was in their interest to protect the peasants, but they were often hindered from doing so by the squires in the territorial diets who made the voting of taxes conditional on the enlargement of their rights over the serfs, and put the taxes on their shoulders. In many territories the serfs were in a difficult position because their landlord was also the ruler and could make use of his public rights to further his private interests. The landed nobility argued: If the burghers amass fortunes by their business practices at the expense of the people—why should we be lax in squeezing more out of our tenants? The princes and other great landowners began further to restrict the use by the peasants of their forests, commons and rivers, or to demand fees for it, while hitherto they had used them free. Emigration was prohibited except if the prince was compensated for the loss of a taxpayer. Many peasants, therefore, could no longer escape oppression by changing their domicile. The incessant internal wars and feuds, too, depressed the state of the rural population. What should the peasant do, whose cows and pigs had been killed or driven away and whose house had been burnt down? He might perhaps get help from his landlord, especially if he was the tenant of a rich monastery. But this gave the landowner an opportunity of revising the lease to the detriment of the peasant.

Agrarian unrest was very wide-spread in the later Middle Ages and outbreaks occurred in many countries of Europe. It was not always social misery which induced the peasants to revolt. Risings often took place among peasants who were free and apparently prosperous, while those who were in unfavourable conditions remained quiet. This has caused many historians to see the reason less in real oppression than in an increase of self-confidence on the part of the peasants. Their mentality was not always servile. The German peasant, anyhow, had weapons and knew how to use them. There were also nobles who dealt with the peasants in a friendly and humane way. This patriarchal outlook is, for instance, shown in the chronicle of the Counts of Zimmern, which was written in the sixteenth century but records also earlier conditions. The general impression of relations between nobles and peasants, however, is unfavourable. Johannes Boemus, a priest of the Teutonic Knights in Ulm and son of a peasant, sharply characterised the German nobility (1520). 'It is a haughty, restless and greedy lot, which is always hostile to the prelates, trying to get hold of the possessions of the Church and harassing the peasants subject to them with hard servitude. It is incredible how they oppress and fleece these poor wretched men. Germany would be three or four times happier if these horsemen and tyrants would be turned out, or if after the curbing and limitation of their power they could be forced to live as private people as in Switzerland.' This picture is confirmed by many other statements of earlier or contemporary writers, for example the Westphalian Werner Rolevinck, the Swabian Johannes Nauclerus, himself of knightly birth, and the Alsatian Jacob Wimpfeling. Hatred of the peasants was expressed in an extreme way by Felix Hemmerlin, a canon of Zurich and learned humanist. To him the peasants were subhuman beings, stupid yokels and filthy outcasts, and he found it might do quite good if their houses and farms were destroyed every fifty years, because this alone could prune the rank branches of their insolence.

In the Hussite wars a wave of religious and social radicalism flooded Germany. But also the victories of the Swiss peasants over the Habsburgs and the Duke of Burgundy greatly agitated the mind of the German peasantry. After the defeat of Charles of Burgundy (1476) a prophecy went round that a mountain in Franconia would lie in the midst of Switzerland, which meant that Swiss liberty would stretch over the whole of Germany. Wide-spread risings took place in the fifteenth century in Salz-

burg, Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, mainly caused by the taxes voted in the diets by the estates and the incursions of the Turks. The peasants accused the nobles of neglecting the defence of the country because they in their fortified castles were safe. In 1478 a plan was made by the Carinthian peasants to establish a peasant democracy under the Emperor and to abolish the nobility altogether. The insurgents had the country in their hands, but a new invasion of the Turks brought about the collapse of their power and the restoration of that of the nobles, who took revenge, though Maximilian I tried to protect the peasants.

In 1476 a movement started in the territory ruled by the Bishop of Würzburg in Franconia. Hans Beheim, a shepherd, who also played the pipe at peasant festivals and, therefore, was known as the Piper of Niklashausen, had a vision of the Blessed Virgin Mary, who ordered him to preach to the people. His speeches were inspired by passionate hatred of the clergy and a primitive communism. Rulers and lords should only receive a daily wage, everybody should earn his living with his own hands and all should have the same income. The emperor was just the same villain as the Pope. These harangues evoked an enormous response; they reverberated in constantly expanding circles, and soon the whole of southern and central Germany was in agitation. Every day tens of thousands wandered to the little village where the Piper was preaching. He was venerated like a saint, his blessing was believed to heal diseases and the people sought to snatch a shred of his clothing as a relic. The authorities were long reluctant to intervene; but when the new prophet ordered all his male followers to assemble in arms, he was arrested and put in prison. Several thousand peasants marched to Würzburg to liberate him. Among their leaders were also a few knights. But the peasants were defeated, the piper burnt at the stake and his ashes thrown into the river Main. Yet, his memory lived long in the minds of the common people.

It is very instructive to compare the German conditions with those prevailing in England. This country, too, had been strongly affected by the Frankish type of feudalism which was brought to it by the Normans. But in a conquered country the king possessed unusual powers, and was considered the owner of all land. Here, too, the Germanic tradition had a strong hold on the public mind as was shown by the declaration of the barons that the laws of England must not be changed. Nevertheless, the kings after the conquest succeeded in making England the most centralised and unified country in Europe, and in laying

the foundations of an essentially non-feudal, national state, though in a feudal garb. In this work they were supported by various factors such as the high standard of the Church, the fact that they were not involved in a life or death struggle with the Papacy, as the German kings were, the early development of principles of sound finance, and the rise of a class of royal lawyers who created a centralised jurisdiction and the Common Law. In this way the ground was laid for Parliament which crowned this work, and was to become one of the strongest bonds of unity.

In Germany, as everywhere, the kings had long no fixed seat, but travelled around. The central justice, administration and finance were exercised where the king just stayed, and this did not permit the development of a class of lawyers versed in the law and a fixed tradition. Much of it was done in an oral way, or if the decisions were written down, they were not collected as precedents, and the charters were easily lost or destroyed on the constant journeys of the royal court. In the counties royal justice was administered by the counts, but they soon became feudal owners of the court. In England the kings had always local executive organs, the sheriffs, who were officials not feudals. Henry II, further, made the momentous step of ordering that a number of judges should not accompany him, but stay at a fixed place, which led to the development of the royal central courts. In the provinces royal justice was administered by itinerant judges. These reforms secured the lasting supremacy of the royal jurisdiction over the feudal and local courts. The royal lawyers were at first mostly clerics who in an early stage studied also the Roman and Canon law, and used it for improving the English one. These lawyers became the fathers of the Common Law, which as royal law was above the folk law, and written in Latin, and later partly in French. As Maitland says, the king's court of professional justices had no parallel in any foreign, unconquered land, and Henry's reforms were mainly designed to increase the king's power, and bring him money. The king gave also the impetus to the development of the jury system, which sprang from the institution of the inquest used by the Frankish kings. The most brilliant epoch in the history of English law was the reign of Edward I. The further development need not be traced here; but it may be mentioned that the lawyers had great influence also in shaping the spirit of Parliament, as Maitland and Holdsworth have pointed out.

In later, critical moments they were allies of Parliament against the king.

The German kings were never strong enough to overcome the decentralising power of the tribal folk-law, of feudalism and later of territorialism. In the times of the Carolingian and Saxon dynasties there was a central Royal Court under a palsgrave, but it later came to an end, and the king then exercised his right as supreme judge by travelling around. The later palsgraves and the justiciar, created by Frederick II, were of no importance for the development of the law. Decisive for it was that the administration of justice was in the temporal courts mainly in the hands of territorial and local judges, the Schoeffen, who were not professional learned jurists, but knights or burghers, and sometimes peasants. Towards the end of the Middle Ages the lawyers versed in the Roman law became increasingly important, largely because the old system did not satisfy the needs of the time. The new Roman lawyers were educated at the universities, while in England the lawyers were trained in the autonomous Inns of Court, which were strongly opposed to the Roman Law regarding it as favouring absolutism. In Germany, most of the new lawyers became, indeed, allies of the princes, both in shaping the law, and in the other functions of government.

The English Common Law and the English system of jurisdiction had many obvious advantages. In particular, they discouraged the feudal disintegration of the central government, and promoted security and national unity. They worked against the differentiation of ranks and inequalities of status. Particularism and patrimonialism were kept down. Titles of nobility went to the eldest son only and land was inherited by primogeniture. An illegitimate child was not treated as an outcast as in Germany. William the Conqueror himself had been a bastard. Serfdom vanished in England much earlier than on the Continent, without legislation, mainly owing to economic causes. In Germany the same development was in the high Middle Ages on the way, but was stopped and reversed by the later course of events. The evolution of procedure by jury prevented the introduction of the continental practices of secret evidence and torture. In England knights and burghers never reached the measure of independence which they enjoyed in Germany, but neither did they ever form mutually hostile classes, nor could they refuse to pay taxes voted by Parliament. The English kings, with few exceptions, kept a firm hold on the nobles and towns, even London was repeatedly deprived of her autonomy. In conse-

quence of the strength of the kings the struggles between the classes never became so violent as in Germany, though England, too, had her peasant revolts and other internal strife. The fact that in England strong kings of foreign origin and language early laid the foundations of a reign of law and sound finance also paved the way for the development of Parliament. What distinguished the English Parliament from the Reichstag and the German territorial diets was the consequence of the greater degree of national and social unity achieved in England. The kings could assemble representatives of the whole people in order to obtain financial aid. In Germany several attempts to follow the English model in taxation had almost led to revolution and had to be given up. Magna Charta has many parallels on the continent, but the unique achievement of England was the relatively high degree of national solidarity and co-operation between the classes, and the great measure of local representation by election. That the English institutions had also many weak points was natural; but they had usually the power to overcome them. The strong central power, national unity and financial strength early enabled England to make also a modern policy of power far superior in military efficiency to the feudal hosts of the German kings. The English wars against France, though dynastic in origin, were much more backed by the English nation than the Italian expeditions of the emperors were supported by the German people.

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THE JEWS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

JEWS had settled in Germany as early as the Roman times, particularly in the towns on the Rhine, and later they spread along the trade routes to the East, on the Danube and the Elbe. They played a great part as traders, especially in Oriental goods and in slaves, and were not compelled to live separated from the Christians or to wear a distinctive sign. A class of German merchants did not yet exist, though there were traders from other foreign peoples, too, such as Syrians and Greeks. In such circumstances the Jews fulfilled important economic functions and were welcome to the rulers as great payers of tolls and taxes. According to Germanic law they were considered aliens and, therefore, belonged to the king, who could dispose of their persons and possessions as he liked. But in practice the kings protected them and treated them well, in particular Charlemagne and his son, Lewis the Pious. At that time the Jews enjoyed most valuable privileges; but their position was also affected by the legislation of the Church and her attitude wavered according to circumstances. The Church could not treat the Jews like heathen or heretics, because they were the people of the Bible. In consequence, numerous Popes have issued bulls prescribing that the Jews should not be persecuted or maltreated, or converted by force. On the other hand, however, the Popes tried to prevent the threatening of the faith of the Christians through close association with Jews. Discussions between Jews and Christians on religion were frequent, and the former showed themselves more versed in the Bible than the latter. In 839 the Emperor's own confessor, Bodo, became a convert to Judaism and in 1012 another Christian priest named Vezelin, who was the confessor

of a duke, followed his example. But there were also other reasons which induced the Church to wish that there should be as little intercourse between Christians and Jews as possible.

The Saxon dynasty continued the policy of the Carolingians. Emperor Otto II after a defeat by the Saracens was saved by Kalonymus, a Jew in his entourage, and granted him his special favour. The family Kalonymus played for centuries a prominent role among the Rhenish Jewry. The Salians and Hohenstaufens, too, were favourable to the Jews. A Bishop of Spire granted Jewish merchants great privileges when they settled in his town declaring that this would increase its reputation a thousand times. Henry IV issued far-reaching privileges for the Jews of Spire and Worms, and Frederick I such for Worms and Ratisbon. Frederick II later extended the privileges of Worms to the whole of German Jewry. In the eleventh century there were many flourishing Jewish communities enjoying self-government.

The crusades formed the great turning point in the history of the German Jews. The first Crusade already roused in wide sections of the participants a wild fanaticism, which led to great outbreaks against the Jews, who were denounced as enemies of Christ. Many thousands were slain or killed themselves and their families. The offer to be spared if they would become Christians was refused. Later crusades, too, began with similar outbreaks. Popes and emperors, bishops and princes, and also large sections of the burghers, disapproved or tried to prevent persecutions; and when fanatical bands of crusaders approached the Jews were often given asylum in castles and thereby saved. But there were always elements who were stronger than the guardians of the law. Monks preaching to the people or knights wishing to get rid of their debts to Jews or to rob them instigated the peasants and other sections of the populace and the worst atrocities were perpetrated. Besides the religious slogan that the Jews were responsible for Christ's death the charge against them was that they were usurers. The interest charged was, indeed, enormous according to modern ideas, but this was due to the conditions of the time. The Jews were then not yet primarily moneylenders, they had a considerable share in trade, owned land and were engaged in crafts, medicine, etc. But these very facts aroused further envy and hatred on the part of the nascent class of German traders, artisans and professionals. The Jews were increasingly excluded from commerce and crafts and, moreover, became ever more subject to financial exploitation by the governments. In previous times many monasteries had

been great moneylenders, but under the influence of the spirit of Cluny this was forbidden, and the Church in general prohibited Christians more rigorously than before from taking interest on loans. Jews were excepted from this restriction. At the same time the social development created a much greater demand for credit. All these causes gradually rendered the Jews the principal moneylenders, though there were always many Christian ones, too, circumventing the prohibition of taking interest behind the screen of legal constructions. Preachers and writers often indignantly declared that the Christian usurers were worse than the Jews. Besides being moneylenders the Jews were also engaged in other operations of banking, such as changing and transmitting money and in minting coins, selling of jewels, etc. Another profession much practised by Jews was medicine. Many emperors, popes, kings, princes and bishops had Jewish physicians. Towns, too, frequently appointed them municipal doctors; they had to serve in the hospitals and on military expeditions and might also treat private patients. Their main competitors were clerics, who often tried to discredit their Jewish rivals or to make their practice impossible. At the fourth Lateran Council (1215) the Jews were accused of taking excessive interest and of other actions. It was prescribed that they should wear a distinctive dress or badge and their intercourse with Christians was to be restricted. In Germany, however, not much was changed by these decrees. In 1233 Pope Gregory IX in a message to the German clergy bitterly complained of the liberties enjoyed by the German Jews contrary to ecclesiastical decisions. They had Christian slaves and servants, who often became Jews, they acted as officials of princes equipped with powers over Christians, they could often not be distinguished by their dress and they frequently held religious disputations with Christians, which might easily entangle ignorant men in the nets of Judaism. Yet the German bishops were still little inclined to take effective steps. Feelings were, however, aroused against the Jews by the charge that they murdered little Christian children to use their blood for ritual purposes. In England this charge had first been raised in 1144 and many others had followed, but in Germany the first case was in 1235. The Emperor Frederick II was sceptical and ordered that careful investigations should be made and scholars from various countries consulted. The result was entirely negative and the Emperor, with the consent of the princes, therefore acquitted the Jews and prohibited the raising of that accusation again. Pope Inno-

cent IV and other popes also issued repeated and energetic denials of the fable of ritual murder and forbade any persecution of the Jews; yet it proved impossible to exterminate this superstition.

As mentioned, already Frederick II in 1236 granted the German Jews great privileges based on Henry IV's charter for Worms which Frederick had confirmed. They were exempted from every other jurisdiction than that of their own judges elected by them and invested by the emperor. They could appeal to the emperor and, if sued, were judged according to Jewish law. Their rights of property and commerce, including compensation for stolen goods bought in good faith but later returned to the owner, were safeguarded. They were to be free of tolls, dues, etc. Pagan slaves baptised against their will remained their property, but they were not allowed to buy Christian slaves. They might employ Christian servants and workers. Violence against Jews and the baptising of their children against their will was heavily punished. They were not subject to ordeals and could be convicted only by the joint testimony of Christian and Jewish witnesses.

Already Frederick I had in his charters for the Jews of Worms and Ratisbon justified the privileges with the argument that the Jews belonged to the Imperial Chamber (*exchequer*). Frederick II expressed the same idea in the words that they were servants of his Chamber. This claim was founded by jurists on the Roman law, but the Hohenstaufens were probably rather following the model of England, where the kings had created a very profitable system of permitting the Jews to absorb wealth by usury like a sponge, which then was pressed out into the royal pocket. Though the *Carta Judaeorum* promised them a free and honourable life, they were in England often treated merely as fiscal objects and forced by the most cruel tortures to deliver large parts of their capital to the king. This was not the intention of the German emperors. But in the late Middle Ages this argument was, indeed, used to justify arbitrary and ruthless exactions.

With the decline of royal power after the Hohenstaufens the position of German Jewry increasingly deteriorated. The emperors were in dire need of money and the taxing of the Jews was one of the few fiscal sources left to them. In later times they very often invested princes and towns with this right but nevertheless found pretexts to impose financial burdens upon the Jews for their own purposes, too. The idea that they were the property of the king and that he might do with them whatever he thought fit led to further oppressions. The rulers often sold or pawned

the Jews of a region, namely the right to exploit them, or declared the debts owed to them void, or claimed them for themselves. Emigration was forbidden to the Jews, who were thereby made completely helpless and unable to escape oppression.

Many princes early realised that the Jews might be useful to them as organs of their treasury since they understood how to make money. Duke Frederick II of Austria was one of these; he employed them in his service, they had great influence on him and were much in his favour. A particular weakness of the feudal financial system was that there was no central budget, but that for every expenditure a special source of income was assigned. Archbishop Baldwin of Treves, one of the most prominent statesmen of the time, entrusted his Jewish banker with the direction of his finances, and it was probably he who introduced a central accountancy kept in Hebrew script. This association of princes with Jews naturally aroused the anger of the nobles, who saw their position threatened; and the people resented it when their fiscal burdens were increased. Town magistrates, too, long welcomed the settlement of wealthy Jews within their walls, because the latter were expected to pay high taxes and to increase commerce. As long as the municipal government lay in the hands of the upper class, the patricians, the Jews were comparatively safe, since violence against them was not tolerated.

After the second half of the thirteenth century many factors greatly aggravated anti-Jewish feelings in the masses. Preachers from the mendicant orders often harangued the populace against the Jews. Social conditions fostered unrest and riots, and there was hardly a year without massacres of Jews. In many cases they were accused of having desecrated hosts, which, it was alleged, in consequence, had exuded blood. Bloodthirsty demagogues led thousands of peasants from town to town everywhere butchering Jews, who often defended themselves with arms, and if they could no longer resist killed themselves and their families. Many territorial governments tried to protect the Jews but were often too weak or lukewarm, others condoned the acts of violence and took a share of the loot for themselves. The Jews were also persecuted in other countries. In England Edward I expelled them from England as before from Gascony. In France, from 1180 to 1394, they were repeatedly persecuted, despoiled and expelled by the kings, after a time admitted again, but eventually driven out permanently.

In Germany the Jews were never expelled by the king from the whole of the realm, but the decline of the central power caused

them terrible sufferings owing to mob violence and the weakness or connivance of rulers or towns. In the middle of the fourteenth century the Black Death swept over Europe; the evil was attributed to the Jews, who were accused of having poisoned the wells, and the popular fury against them demanded countless victims. Pope and Emperor in vain contradicted the charge pointing out that the Jews themselves were dying of the plague which they were alleged to have spread. At the same time the Jews were also faced with other enemies. In many towns the democratic movement of the artisans strove to conquer the Town Councils and to oust the wealthy ruling class. Many of the craftsmen were filled with bitter hatred of the Jews, to whom they often owed money, and they were out to plunder their possessions and to kill or expel them. In many towns the artisans overwhelmed the patricians, seized power and massacred the Jews or burned them under the pretext of having disseminated the plague. Various causes, therefore, contributed to a vast wave of persecution in which over three hundred and fifty Jewish communities were exterminated. Large numbers fled to the East, especially to Poland, where they were welcome.

When the Jews had been robbed or murdered somewhere, the emperor usually imposed a penalty upon the town for having damaged his property; but the fine imposed was often much lower than the values looted, and this was bound to incite other towns to make a similar bargain. Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, the friend of the democratic movement in the towns, started this dangerous practice, though he also made some efforts to protect the Jews. The peak of inhumanity was reached by Charles IV and his son Wenceslaus—for a good price they sold the right over Jewish communities to town governments known to plan their destruction, and even promised in various treaties impunity should the Jews be murdered. A ruler who did his best to discourage anti-Jewish outrages was the Austrian Duke Albrecht the Wise, who severely punished those who instigated the people to violence against the Jews.

The great persecutions of the fourteenth century had practically annihilated German Jewry. But they had hardly been despoiled, slain or driven out when in many places complaints were raised that their services as moneylenders, bankers and taxpayers were seriously missed. Many towns, bishops and princes tried to get their Jews back, and soon these settled again in places all over Germany. But the new settlements were established on conditions made by the towns or rulers. The Jews

were admitted only for a certain time or in small numbers, without the right to own landed property and on condition not to exercise any other occupation than moneylending and to live together in Ghettos secluded from the Christians. They had to wear a special dress or badge and many ordinances were made intended to cut off all social relations between Jews and Christians, or merely for the purpose of subjecting the Jews to chicanery and humiliation.

In spite of all restrictions a number of Jews could soon regain wealth; they appeared as lenders of money to princes and in many cases were employed by them again to put their finances in order. Yet, their position remained very insecure, and the history of the time is full of the most brutal acts of towns and rulers designed to despoil the Jews. Emperor Sigismund was well disposed towards them; he improved their position to some extent by privileges and also induced Pope Martin V to issue decrees in this sense. But he also often imposed taxes upon them, for example to defray the expenses for the Council of Constance, the Hussite wars, etc. The Pope particularly disapproved of the habit of preachers of the mendicant orders of inflaming the people's mind against the Jews. But the effect was very restricted. A sensational case which aroused the worst fanaticism was the alleged ritual murder of a boy, Simon of Trent. The last Emperor in the Middle Ages, Frederick III, was just and friendly towards the Jews and even made his Jewish physician a nobleman. Public opinion scoffed at him.

The general hostility was also expressed in the attitude of the Estates. In many territories the diets constantly urged the princes to take measures against the Jews, who by their practices of usury caused great misery among the people and increased social unrest. In the fifteenth century the Jews were forced to emigrate from many territories and towns. This was partly due to the fact that there were now other opportunities of borrowing money. The amount of liquid capital had much increased, and South German bankers dominated international finance. The importance which was laid on the elimination of the Jews is illustrated by the fact that in the Rhine Palatinate the prince at his accession had to take an oath to observe three rules: not to alienate a part of the country, to maintain the University of Heidelberg, and never to admit Jews into the country.

The tragic fate of the German Jews was mainly due to the fact that their principal occupation was that of moneylenders, which under the conditions of the time could only be exercised

in the form of usury. The charges raised by the Estates against the Jews certainly contained a good deal of truth. Large sections of the nobles, the knights, artisans and peasants were, indeed, gravely exploited by this usury and, in consequence, full of spite against the Jews. The accusations of ritual murder etc. fell, therefore, on fertile soil. Emperors and Popes were unable to stem the tide of fanaticism. The weakness of the German central power greatly aggravated the evil. But the striving of the Church also to separate Jews and Christians from intercourse contributed much to their antagonism. True, the Jews themselves were by their religion compelled to live in seclusion from the Christians. The wearing of distinctive clothes or signs was justified by the Church also by reference to the Mosaic Law, which had prescribed them. The restriction on moneylending, however, did not spring from the will of the Jews but was brought about by the trade guilds and similar organisations, who wanted to exclude them from trade and crafts. Thomas Aquinas noted that in Italy the Jews earned their bread by manual labour in contrast to Germany. In the epoch of the Councils it was suggested by representatives of the Reform party that the Jews should be compelled to live by handiwork, especially by agriculture. But this plan had not the slightest chance of realisation.

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THE RISE OF NATIONAL POWER POLITICS
IN EUROPE. MAXIMILIAN I

FEUDALISM, when not checked by a strong monarchy, did not permit efficient power politics on a European scale. It was not till the close of the Middle Ages that it had in many countries been sufficiently curbed to make possible the emergence of strong national States and soon most realms of Europe were involved in great rivalries and struggles which in many respects differed from those in feudal times.

In Germany Maximilian I (1459-1519), who in 1468 became king, was a striking example of the new spirit. In contrast to his father Frederick III he possessed a fiery, restless temperament, perhaps inherited from his mother, a highly cultured Portuguese princess. His sense of justice, amiability, generosity, bravery and eloquence made him popular. He had also wide intellectual interests and splendid gifts. His political record, however, is very controversial. The King showed little stability, realism and foresight, and in finance was utterly incompetent. The greatness of the Habsburgs, or the House of Austria, was the main object of his policy, and as a child of the age of humanism he also preached German nationalism, though with little success. Since the Habsburgs had acquired Austria they had greatly enlarged their possessions and had for a short while also ruled Bohemia and Hungary, but had soon lost these countries again. A union of them with their other countries had become vital for all of them since isolated none could have escaped the fate of subjugation by the Ottoman power. In all the Austrian countries the Estates were very powerful, and it was difficult to persuade them to vote sufficient money for mercenaries. They could not evade the responsibility of defending the country against the

Turks, but the mere aggrandisement of Habsburg power was not in their interest. How low the power of the dynasty had sunk under Frederick III is illustrated by the fact that in 1462 he was besieged in his palace by the revolting Viennese in alliance with the Lower Austrian Estates, and his brother Albrecht. The Emperor, was saved only by the intervention of the King of Bohemia George of Podiebrad. Since 1477 the King of Hungary Mathias Corvinus repeatedly invaded the Austrian countries, soon conquered them, forced the old Emperor Frederick to flee and resided in Vienna until his death (1490). The Empire did not intervene.

From this state of great ambitions but parlous impotence the Habsburgs rose under Maximilian's reign to the rank of a world power. This was mainly effected by a number of dynastic marriages. In 1477 he married Maria of Burgundy, the daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold. This prince had suggested the marriage and had overcome Emperor Frederick's long hesitation; but he had fallen in a war with the Swiss before the wedding took place. Maria died five years later. This made Maximilian's descendants the rulers of one of the richest countries of Europe, stretching from the Netherlands to Burgundy. But their claims were strongly contested by the Kings of France and Maximilian was involved in many wars with them, and in a conflict with the Flemish democratic party, which even imprisoned him. He was only set free when a German army approached to liberate him. Shortly before he had been elected German King. In 1488 he left the Netherlands to recover Austria from Hungarian domination. First, however, he strengthened his power by persuading Archduke Sigismund of the Tyrol to cede him this country for a financial compensation, and by settling the old rivalry between the Wittelsbach and the Habsburgs. He then began negotiations with the Hungarian King, but the latter died suddenly. Maximilian thereupon reconquered Austria, entered Vienna after an absence of thirteen years, and invaded Hungary claiming her crown on the ground of a succession treaty of 1463. The Hungarian Estates, however, elected Wladislaw, King of Bohemia and son of the King of Poland; Maximilian was granted the title of a King of Hungary and a right of succession if there should be no male heir. Wladislaw was a feeble-minded King under whom the magnates were omnipotent, and his reign paved the way for the subjugation of the realm by the Turks.

In the meantime Maximilian much against the will of his father had begun negotiations for marrying another heiress,

Anne of Brittany, and in 1490 had actually married her by proxy. But this act naturally aroused the greatest opposition in France, and King Charles VIII succeeded in annulling the marriage, and winning the hand of Anne and her country for himself. The French King was already engaged to Maximilian's daughter Margaret, a child who was educated at his court, but now after some delay was sent back to her father. This double affront embittered Maximilian to the utmost, and caused also much resentment in Germany. Though the Reichstag refused the King military support, he waged war against France, and recovered the Free County of Burgundy and other parts which had previously been lost (1493). Shortly after the old Emperor died, and Maximilian came to the throne. Fifteen years later he assumed with the Pope's consent the title of elected Roman Emperor. The ceremonial expedition to Rome and the coronation there by the Pope no longer took place.

Maximilian now wanted to unite the forces of Europe to throw back the Turkish armies which constantly harassed and ravaged wide tracts of the Danubian countries, then to liberate the Christians under the domination of the infidels, and to conquer Constantinople. But just at this moment (1494) Charles VIII of France made a great expedition to Italy which opened a long series of wars and of constantly changing alliances, in which most European powers became involved. The rest of Maximilian's reign was largely spent in these Italian struggles which for our subject require no closer treatment. In 1516 the wars came to an end. France retained Milan, Spain got Naples, and also the other powers obtained some advantages. In 1518 England, France, Spain and the Pope concluded the 'Universal Peace' of London, in which each power was guaranteed the diplomatic and military help of all the others against any aggressor. Optimists hoped it would initiate a time of perpetual peace. But this pact of collective security broke down almost immediately, and new long struggles for power followed.

If the Emperor's effort to diminish France's power failed, he succeeded in encircling her by an alliance with Spain, which was cemented by the marriage of his son Philip with Joanna (1496), who later became the heiress of Spain. In 1515 he further arranged two engagements of his grandchildren with the children of Wladislaw II of Hungary and Bohemia, which prepared the acquisition of these countries too. All these pacts greatly increased French jealousy. The Habsburgs gradually became rulers of a worldwide Empire, or rather of a loose federation of many

peoples of different languages and interests which could not be merged in a unitary national State. Moreover, in every part their rule was restricted by the power of the Estates. But the wide extension of this Empire exposed it to the attacks of many enemies, and often forced the Habsburg rulers to fight at the same time on several fronts remote from one another. The greatest enemy of this agglomeration of States was France, and she was superior to it by her increasing national unity, her much greater resources and revenues, and by the concentration of absolute power in the hands of her kings. The conflict between the dynasties of Valois and Habsburg was originally alien to the German people, but in the course of time French-German antagonism was to develop largely out of these dynastic rivalries. The policy of the House of Austria had also other implications shaping the destiny of the German people. The separation of Switzerland from Germany was largely due to the traditional antagonism of the Swiss to the Habsburgs which Frederick III had much aggravated. His son in vain tried to avoid a conflict with the Swiss. Its outbreak was mainly brought about by the rancour and contempt of the Swabian knights towards the Swiss peasants and burghers and by French intrigues. The Swiss defeated their undisciplined enemies. The peace treaty (1499) granted the Swiss practical independence without expressly declaring their separation from Germany. The Swiss henceforth called themselves relatives of the Empire. The King of France had used the time of the war to carry out plans of expansion in Italy.

How did the German public mind react to Maximilian's power politics? This can best be ascertained from the attitude of the Reichstag. Since Maximilian constantly was in urgent need of money a session was held every year. Under Frederick III internal insecurity and the weakness towards foreign enemies had reached the climax. Many plans of reform were discussed, but without result. The main supporters of the ideas of a reform were the Electors and the young Maximilian showed himself favourable to their suggestions. In the year of his election the reform party had received a great leader in Berthold of Henneberg, Archbishop of Mayence, who by his sense of justice, and sane patriotism enjoyed general respect and authority. He was supported by Duke Frederick of Saxony, a ruler of unusual peaceableness, wisdom and probity. At the same time the towns gave up their long reluctance to co-operation in the Reichstag,

and decided to appear. The assembly thereby came nearer to the character of a national representation.

Under Berthold's guidance the Reichstag adopted the policy that internal reforms must have priority of external affairs. The first aim was to be the restoration of law and order within Germany, and the safeguarding of the rights and interests of the Empire abroad should come later. The Estates granted the King aids for repelling the onslaught of the Turks, and for similar matters, but they made a strong stand against Maximilian's constant efforts to involve them in war with France about Italy and Burgundy. This did not mean that they were entirely indifferent to the dangers springing from France's policy. But they refused to be scared by Maximilian's constant passionate denunciations of French aggressive designs, and preferred to wait and see. As regards Italy they were opposed to plans of warlike intervention, and preferred diplomatic negotiations. They did not abandon the old rights of the Empire, but were content with their nominal maintenance, and prepared to let the French King have the real power in the form of a fief. Maximilian's policy against Venice was also very unpopular, especially in the towns. The idea that he owed the Pope protection against his enemies, however, made some impression on the ecclesiastical princes who were numerous in the Reichstag. Sometimes the Estates voted moderate supplies in exchange for concessions of the King in other questions. But on the whole they saw no ground why they should incur considerable expenses for plans in which they had no interest, and which, if successful, might increase the royal power. They had further to reckon with the opposition of their territorial diets to new burdens and with revolts of their peoples if they were taxed for Maximilian's dynastic imperialism. Lastly they had a poor opinion of the King's foresight and steadiness.

Maximilian regarded the attitude of the French Kings with whom he had to deal as designed to humiliate him personally, and as aggressive and provocative towards the Empire. Both suspicions were not unfounded, but the Emperor's own conduct was certainly not better but rather worse than that of his rivals. He also hoped that a victorious war would greatly enhance his authority at home and abroad. Most of his own counsellors, relatives and friends were strongly against a war with France. The Netherlands, and their ruler, his son Philip, were decidedly for peace since the economic interests of the country demanded it. The Austrian lands could only wish that he should concentrate

his forces and means on defence against the Turks; but many Italians who saw in him their protector against their enemies who were allied with the King of France did their best to instigate him to war. Italian and German humanists, too, took this line, inspired by nationalism, and a romantic enthusiasm for the Empire. The mass of the people was not interested in the idea of the Empire. It is seldom mentioned in the popular songs of the time, which more often celebrate personal virtues of Maximilian.

Under the influence of divergent opinions in his entourage Maximilian's policy often wavered. His temperament, too, caused many sudden changes of mind, and not seldom induced him to espouse unrealistic, or fantastic plans. He once even thought of becoming Pope, while retaining his dignity of Emperor. In the beginning he did not oppose the French policy of expansion in Italy, but seemed even in agreement with the French King, but later suddenly changed his attitude. Since the Reichstag refused him the means required for war, he accepted money from Venice and Milan under conditions which made him their mercenary, and which greatly impaired the respect for his person. Public opinion reacted very unfavourably. The attitude of the Reichstag filled him with bitterness, and he once complained to the Venetian ambassador about the 'beastly Germans' who were against a war with France. In 1507 he told the Reichstag that for every florin which they had granted him he had spent one hundred florins from the revenues of his Austrian and Burgundian territories. But these revenues, too, were inadequate for his plans. In consequence Maximilian played only a secondary role in the Italian wars, and his lack of money placed him in the most undignified position. The financial difficulties were largely due to the fact that he easily undertook ventures without proper calculation of the cost, and that he was exploited by corrupt officials and by impostors such as Perkin Warbeck.

The struggle of the Reichstag with the King about foreign wars was closely interconnected with the plans for internal reforms. At the Reichstag of Worms (1495) Archbishop Berthold put forward a scheme of a Council of State exercising all the rights of government in the name of the King. The princes were to appoint ten representatives, the circles four and the towns two while the King should nominate the chairman. This plan would have made Maximilian the president of a republic with almost no influence on actual politics. He therefore strongly opposed it, and it was dropped. But the Reichstag accepted other

important reforms, in particular a permanent Land-Peace. Feuds were henceforth absolutely forbidden. A High Court of Justice, the Reichs-Kammergericht, was to act as a court of appeal when justice was denied by the territorial judges. The Estates were to appoint the assessors, half of whom were to be jurists, and the other half knights. The court was to judge according to the Roman law. A tax should be gathered from all subjects, called the Common, or Turkish, Penny. The returns were to be used for the High Court and for defence under strict control of the Reichstag and of a treasurer appointed by it. The vote, however, obliged only the rulers who had to ask their diets to grant the money. The Reichstag was to sit every year for at least a month, and no important matter was to be decided without its consent, in particular no war commenced.

The execution of the measures enacted was very disappointing. Wide sections of the higher classes declared the resolutions of the Reichstag as incompatible with their traditional rights and as invalid. Others refused to comply without any reason. Reliable organs to assess and collect the tax were lacking. Maximilian further began to build up central institutions under his control which were designed to rival those controlled by the Estates, in particular an Aulic Council as a counter-part to the Kammergericht.

At the Reichstag of Augsburg (1500) the conflict between Maximilian and Berthold, the leader of the Estates, made further progress. The Estates nominated a Council with full powers of government. It at once began negotiations with France, but with no success. The princes were mostly indifferent, the Council had neither money nor officials, and could neither enforce internal peace, nor organise the levy of a militia, which had also been voted, nor hinder Maximilian from making his own policy. The reforms had to be stopped, the High Court was in dissolution, since the assessors could not be paid, and the Council itself soon decided to end its activities. The tension between the King and the Estates still increased. Many princes thought of deposing the King, and the latter uttered obscure threats. In 1502 the Venetian diplomat Contarini reported it was astonishing, how unfavourably the people spoke of Maximilian, and how little he was respected.

Suddenly, however, Maximilian's star began to rise. He had various political successes, and was able to win a number of the younger princes by providing them with profitable posts, and by his great amiability. He was also very skilful in propaganda,

and understood how to influence public opinion. His great adversary the Archbishop Berthold died in 1504, and the Estates had for some time no leader of equal authority and energy. For a short time Maximilian seemed to have triumphed over the opposition, but very soon public sentiment towards him deteriorated again.

In 1500 Maximilian inherited the territory of Goerz, and this later contributed much to the outbreak of a war with Venice which lasted ten years. The rich city could raise much greater armies of mercenaries than the King without money. The Reichstag which previously had several times granted him aids, now repeatedly refused further help pointing out that the common man was overburdened and in a dangerous state of unrest. A general rising was to be feared. Already in 1502 the Electors had intended to deliberate in the next Reichstag how the excessive burdens of the common man such as compulsory services, feudal dues, ecclesiastical fees, taxes, etc., could be relieved since he would not tolerate them for ever. The Reichstag also prohibited monopolistic practices of big trading companies which caused high prices and embittered the people. But the towns did not enforce this law, and the King sentenced them to a heavy penalty. The towns therefore were furious, and the merchants declared they were treated like serfs, and had better emigrate to Venice, Switzerland or France where honest trade was not impeded.

The last Reichstag which the Emperor attended, shortly before his death, was held at Augsburg (1518). Its main subject was the danger of Turkish aggression, which agitated all Christian nations. Sultan Selim had in recent years made vast conquests in the Near East, and it was expected that he would now turn westwards. He unexpectedly died two years later, but his son Suleiman actually soon began a great offensive against Hungary and Austria. In 1518 the Emperor wanted to use the opportunity for founding an army of the Empire. Pope Leo X sent a cardinal to the Reichstag to support him, but this did the Emperor's cause more harm than good. The Pope and the Emperor proposed plans for an army and a war tax, but the Reichstag flatly refused any supplies pointing out the general grievances regarding papal exactions and other abuses. After long debates, however, the Reichstag suggested that for the next three years everybody going to Holy Communion should pay a small amount, and that this money should be kept by the territorial governments until the Turks opened their aggression. But the princes added the proviso that they must first discuss this plan with their

subjects. The Emperor objected that this was not necessary, as the subjects had to obey their orders. But the princes replied that previous grants had, indeed, been made by them without consultation of the subjects, yet the consequence had been that it was impossible to raise the money, which was a disgrace. The Reichstag therefore decided that the princes should negotiate about the matter with their subjects, and report the result in the next session.

The Austrian territories of Maximilian were particularly hard pressed with taxes for his wars, and often also harassed by the inroads of Turkish horsemen. The diets of the different lands held common sessions, and in their dealings with Maximilian showed great energy. They enforced the pledge that he would henceforth begin no war without their consent (1510). The Emperor was already pledged to the Reichstag to ask for its consent, and these obligations would have excluded any not strictly defensive war. There were also great uprisings of the peasants in Carniola, Styria and Carinthia which were ruthlessly suppressed by the Estates. The Emperor wished to end the revolt without further bloodshed and hoped later to conciliate the peasants by improving their lot. But the Estates strongly opposed this intention, and hindered him from carrying it out. The Estates laid also great stress upon the expulsion of the Jews, and after long negotiations the Emperor complied with their demand on payment of a considerable amount. The Jews retained their claims and received new seats beyond the Austrian border.

Maximilian was the first ruler who gave great attention to the formation of an infantry on the Swiss model, the lansquenets, and to the development of artillery. He was an excellent organiser, and even provided his troops with clowns and jesters to keep up morale. His further intention, however, to inspire his soldiers with a German national sentiment failed. The Swiss did not fight against other Swiss soldiers, but the German lansquenets were even eager to attack first of all the German troops in the opposite ranks. They served that lord who paid best, and if their wages were in arrears, no appeal to their patriotism or national honour could prevent them from rioting, insulting the Emperor in the rudest way, or deserting to the enemy. The new warfare gave the common man quite a new position. Lansquenets and gunners decided the fate of kings and nobles, who had to treat them with respect as brothers in arms. Many poor knights too served in their ranks. At an attack in a war in Hungary Duke Christopher of Bavaria seized the lance of a lansquenet and

rushed ahead against the enemy, calling 'his dear brothers' to follow him. Maximilian, too, often acted in the same spirit. But when he was allied with the King of France he once, at Pavia, asked the French noblemen to attack together with his lansquenets, and they refused through their spokesman, the famous Bayard, on the ground that it was against their dignity to risk their lives at the side of uncouth artisans, cobblers, and bakers, who knew nothing of honour. The training of a native infantry by Maximilian also prepared the soil for civil war. When the war ended the mercenaries were dismissed and many of them became tramps, beggars or robbers. But many also turned agitators for a social revolution, and found numerous followers. At the Reichstag of Mayence (1517) a commission was appointed to investigate the causes of the general unrest, and it reported that it was largely dismissed soldiers who instigated the common man to rebellion.

The numerous attempts made by the Emperor in the Reichstag to create a financial and military system for the Empire had only very poor results. In his Austrian territories, however, he had more success in developing an administrative apparatus, mainly on the basis of the institutions of the Tyrol. The Austrian lands further contributed very considerable sums to the Emperor's financial requirements, though the Estates granted supplies only after long disputes about the amounts and terms which were severely cut down. But even apart from these difficulties the Austrian territories did not offer a sufficiently strong financial basis for enterprises of the magnitude envisaged by Maximilian. Their population, wealth and revenues formed only a small fraction of those of France. Venice too was much richer, and her population inclusive of the colonies, was equal to that of Austria. Maladministration of the finance and lack of co-operation within the government aggravated the distress. Maximilian had no sense of money, and, moreover, believed that he could rule by himself deciding important matters without consulting or informing his statesmen. But it was often remarked that in many questions the officials at the Emperor's court were the real rulers, and were open to bribes on a large scale. Their master obviously was not well informed of their doings.

The Emperor's ideal combined the ambition and splendour of Burgundian and Italian Renaissance princes with the simple habits of a German country nobleman. His greatest joy was hunting, and he particularly liked stalking chamois in the mountains of the Tyrol. But he also enjoyed romantic pageantry, chival-

rous tournaments, and merry dances with fair ladies. He employed the greatest painters, engravers, sculptors and musicians of his time, and surrounded himself with scholars whose projects he generously supported. Love of music made him the founder of a court orchestra which became the seed from which Vienna's greatness as a musical centre developed. Though he was not very learned himself, and scoffed at his 'Horseman's-Latin', he possessed an insatiable longing for knowledge in every possible field, and sought instruction from the best scholars. He was the ideal prince of the humanists who celebrated his fame and the greatness of his house, made propaganda for his politics, and tried to arouse for this purpose German national pride and ambition. Manifestos, orations and leaflets with illustrations were used to influence public opinion. Maximilian was critical of orthodoxy and Papacy, but in public refrained from attacks on the Church. Economic questions often occupied him, he founded the port of Antwerp, furthered industries, began postal and news services, and so on. His financial needs brought him into close contact with the money magnates of Augsburg and Nuremberg, who lent him great amounts on good securities, while he in many ways furthered their business interests. At last all his revenues and assets were pawned to them. Augsburg attracted him more than any other town. It was the seat of great humanists and collectors of antiques and a place where the enjoyment of life was cultivated with refined splendour. But the Emperor frequented not only the society of rich patricians, he also took part in the festivals of artisan's guilds where he rivalled the burghers in archery and danced with their wives and daughters. At the French court the aristocrats sneered calling him the King of shopkeepers or the Burgomaster of Augsburg. But the Town Council of the city was not quite happy about his frequent visits. The Emperor often intervened in municipal affairs, and the Town Council protested and safeguarded its rights. It also often happened that he could not stay in a town because the burghers refused him every credit.

Maximilian's personality explains why he left such a good memory in the mind of the people, though his foreign policy had never been popular, and often aroused bitter criticism. But the people felt that he regarded himself not as a superior being but as a man like all others, and that he was a comrade and friend. Numerous sayings and anecdotes of him were handed down to posterity, many of them, no doubt, more or less legendary. He was a familiar figure in popular poems which were sung, or printed on leaflets. Many writers and statesmen of his age

have expressed their opinion of him, and essentially he appears as a kind, and well-mannered man, who understood how to win all hearts, and liked a joke, even when he was its object, but whose mind was extremely changeable, and who never had money. An excellent book by Waas gives many contemporary and later judgments of his character. The English judged him most severely, mainly because of his unreliability in money matters, while many Italian and French observers appreciated his character, except his fickleness and financial carelessness. Luther was fond of telling that once Maximilian was asked why he laughed, and that he answered: He laughed to think that God had so well arranged the spiritual and temporal realms, that the former was under the rule of a drunken and dissolute Pope (Julius II), and the latter under that of a chamois hunter (himself). The humour of the Emperor is also shown in a story related with variations by several writers. According to Luther he compared the Kings of Germany, France and England and said: He himself was a King of Kings, for his princes obeyed him only when it pleased them, the King of France was a King of asses, for everything that he ordered his subjects had to do like dumb beasts. But the King of England was a King of people, for what he asked them to do they did gladly and were fond of their master, like obedient subjects.

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HUMANISM AND THE RISE OF THE MODERN SPIRIT

HUMANISM in the philosophical sense regards the harmonious unfolding of all the faculties of human nature as the proper goal of Man. A striving towards this aim required first of all his intellectual emancipation from the restrictions imposed upon him by the dominant doctrines of the Church, Scholasticism and feudal Society. The predominant conviction of the Middle Ages was that the proper goal of Man was heaven and that his faculties must be exercised only as far as they were compatible with this aim. But the humanistic philosophy tended to remove these limitations. In the historical sense humanism means an intellectual movement which culminated in the late 15th century in Italy and from there, more or less, spread over most countries of Europe. Its most conspicuous feature was enthusiasm for the study of Latin and Greek and their literatures inspired by a new ideal of human personality. The age was full of events of revolutionary significance, such as the invention of printing, the discovery of a new world beyond the seas, the rise of national States and of capitalism. They all were symptoms of a new spirit, of which historical humanism was a part, and they were also forces making for the further progress of that spirit. The Reformation then weakened its impetus and gave the mind of the time another turn. But the Age of Enlightenment re-awakened the spirit of philosophical humanism, though now thought was less determined by the study of the classical languages than by the natural and social sciences and philosophy.

The humanists of the Renaissance age exhibited numerous, widely divergent, types characteristic of the modern spirit. They comprised statesmen, scholars and thinkers, rhetoricians and littérateurs, and also many parasites. But one feature was domin-

ant, namely the keen assertion of individuality. What mattered was no longer the moral virtues sanctioned by the Church, nor the sacred character of priesthood, nor noble blood, inherited rank or wealth, the words of the Bible or the authority of tradition but the strength, energy and versatility of the individual personality. This was now called virtue. To many the most perfect man was no longer the Saint but the Superman who recognized no law but that inherent in his own nature. The humanists came mostly from the middle classes and had to make their way merely by their intellectual gifts. Many became clergymen, lawyers or teachers, but a great section of them spurned a practical profession, which degraded their genius to a business asset and subjected it to rigid rules, and they usually hated the clergy and the jurists as rivals for the favour of the powerful. The typical humanists had the ambition to speak and write Latin with the elegance of a Cicero and then to use this qualification for obtaining posts as secretaries, counsellors and diplomats of princes or town republics. They usually called themselves orators or poets, and at the universities they were mostly teachers of rhetoric. The best way of making a great career seemed to many humanists that of winning a powerful and rich patron. To this end they dedicated to princes and others poems full of adulation, they celebrated them in orations and wrote the history of their deeds and their houses in the same spirit. If not paid in advance, however, they did not forget to add that they expected adequate reward. For this they promised their patrons that they would make them immortal and procure them everlasting glory.

The longing for fame was one of the strongest passions of the humanists. Petrarca already was agitated by this longing and at the same time by Christian qualms about it. His internal conflicts between the new and the old ethos resulted in acute neurotic troubles, called *acedia*, something like the *Weltschmerz* of modern *littérateurs*. The craving for immortality penetrated the whole atmosphere of the Renaissance and became a craze. People committed the worst crimes merely to make their name immortal. The humanists carefully cultivated it, in particular in the mind of their patrons. Very frequent features in their mentality were vanity and quarrelsomeness. Every criticism incited them to polemics full of the most violent and poisonous invectives and reckless slander. Lorenzo Valla's motto was: Shameful though the quarrel be, more shameful would be giving way to an adversary. Some humanists, like Pietro Aretino, became blackmailers on a large scale and princes and money magnates trembled before their pen. But such

excesses must not make us overlook that many humanists fought also for the progress of civilisation. Their letters written for publication and their pamphlets rendered them forerunners of journalism, though their preference for writing in Latin restricted their influence to the educated classes. It also deepened the cleavage between the cultured classes and the people.

In politics the humanists were partly republicans, partly adherents of dictators, and often both. The example of ancient Greece and Rome showed how republican liberty had been replaced by Caesarism, and in the Italian town republics, too, the bitter strife between classes and parties had mostly resulted in the rise of open or veiled dictatorship, which left little scope for a healthy political life. The republicanism of many humanists remained purely theoretical and was often mixed with moral pessimism and cynicism. The important Florentine historian and statesman Francesco Vettori replied to the charge that the regime of the Medicis, established in 1512, was a tyranny: "May be, but leaving aside utopias, have there ever been other governments than tyrannical ones?" The general interest of humanism in individuality induced them to explore also the differences between nations. They investigated the customs of foreign nations and revived the ancient theories trying to explain them by the action of the stars and the environment. Most humanists professed pride in the greatness of old Rome and hoped for its revival and they stigmatized the foreign nations as barbarians, uncultured boors, drunkards, gluttons, and so on. Yet the humanists did not encourage the Italian language. They widely assumed Latin names and spurned writing in the vernacular as unbecoming to a man of letters. Many even regretted that Dante had used Italian in his epic instead of Latin. There was also much jealousy of the Greeks, and even their old language and literature was despised until the Turkish conquest of Constantinople induced many Greek scholars to flee to Italy and to spread there a better knowledge and appreciation of old Hellas. Now many humanists were seized by enthusiasm for the old Greek civilization.

This trend culminated in the school of Platonism founded by Marsilio Ficino, of which Giovanni Pico, Count of Mirandola, became one of the greatest ornaments. The school elevated humanism from philology and rhetoric to a new philosophy, largely orientated by Neo-Platonism. It also venerated the old Oriental religions and the Jewish Kabbala, tended to regard all religions and philosophies as a progressive revelation and sought to blend Christianity with Pantheism or Panentheism. The dogmas

and rites of the Church were good for the people, but there was also to be a philosophical religion for the enlightened spirits. This school transcended nationalism and became a fountain of cosmopolitanism.

On the whole humanism tended to undermine the doctrines and institutions of the Church, and not a few of its followers criticised also fundamentals of Christianity. The aim of immortality in heaven gave way to that of making one's name immortal in this world. The idea of a brotherhood of all Christians was superseded by the view that a perpetual and merciless struggle between individuals and nations was founded in human nature. Niccolo Machiavelli stressed that free peoples were ambitious and aggressive and accused Christianity of having deprecated the striving for glory and exalted humility. This had led to the decay of a manly patriotism and made the world an easy victim of villains. The Papacy, Machiavelli further wrote, had made the Italians irreligious and immoral, kept them divided and made Italy the prey of foreign invaders. Most humanists, however, took care to avoid an open conflict with the Church, especially if they held profitable ecclesiastical prebends. The Church facilitated this by a more than tolerant attitude towards their un-Christian and pagan leanings. Pope Leo X himself was gravely suspect of regarding the Gospels as a myth. There were further humanists who wished to reconcile the wisdom of Rome and Greece with Christianity. The Bible was to them just poetry which must not be taken verbally and in which the divine spirit manifested itself as it had done in the classical poetry, too. In spite of its critical attitude to Christianity, however, humanism often showed very uncritical leanings towards superstitions found in the ancient writers. This led to a mania for astrology, occult sciences and magic, though there was some opposition. Nevertheless the new spirit stimulated also scientific research and philosophical thought, which made great progress.

With the humanists a new social type appeared on the scene of history which in modern times was to become one of the most momentous forces in politics. It was that of the Intellectual in its specific sense, meaning not merely the man who works with his brains instead of his hands, or who believes in the power of reason in general. The modern intellectual tends to make his own intellect an idol, placing it high above the wisdom of the past, of which he often has no real knowledge. These intellectuals have become the framers of ideologies and makers of public opinion, the heralds of revolutions and wars. Not all humanists, of course,

belonged to this type, nor had those of the Renaissance much to do with the common people, who appeared too vulgar to the man of culture.

In Germany the advent of humanism was prepared by scholars who had studied at Italian universities, and the movement got into its stride through the great Councils which were attended by many Italian humanists. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini was particularly influential. He lived many years in Germany, and was in the service of the emperor. The refined Italian, at first, found his new environment intolerably dull and uncultured, but later came to appreciate its better sides. He wanted to win the Germans for the papal financial demands and for a crusade against the Turks, and therefore praised them highly. God had given them the Roman Empire because of their bravery and their staunch Christian faith in which they excelled the Romans and other nations. What a primitive people they had been at the time of Tacitus and Caesar, and what tremendous progress they had made since, largely owing to the guidance of the Church! Aeneas gave a glowing description of the wealth and splendour of the German Free Towns, which were not surpassed in any country, except perhaps by a few Italian towns. But on the whole, he thought, Italy was not superior to Germany. He also praised the flowering of arts and learning, the general training in the use of arms, the good justice and administration, and the state of agriculture and trade, but regretted the internal strife and insecurity and the lack of unity. Those who call the Germans barbarians must be blamed. In confidential letters, however, Aeneas sometimes judged them less favourably. He was primarily a skilful advocate and publicist who occasionally was not scrupulous concerning the truth of his statements. His book on Germany was written in 1458 and first printed in 1496.

In 1471 the papal Legate Bishop Antonio Campano came to Germany and in an oration paid the Germans great praise in order to induce them to wage war against the Turks. In his letters to Italy, which were later published, however, he described the Germans as barbarians and as the scum of the earth. This aroused great indignation in Germany. The Bishop took leave with elegant Latin verses inviting the barbarians to contemplate his naked backside. The Italians often gave offence to the Germans, who found them arrogant, cynical, false and irreligious. Moreover, they usually came as agents of the papal policy of financial exploitation which was extremely unpopular. In Germany, as in all the Northern countries, Christian beliefs had a much stronger hold on

the educated classes than in Italy. In these nations the humanists, therefore, wished to use the new learning not against Christianity but for its purification, mainly by the study of the Bible in the original language. From the Netherlands the Brethren of the Common Life spread over a great part of Germany cultivating both Christian piety and classical studies. All the prominent German humanists of the older generation came from this circle, among them Nicolas Cusanus and Erasmus.

In Italy, too, a section of the humanists remained near to the Christian ideals and many did not share the prejudice against other nations. Marsilio Ficino, in particular, had the most cordial relations with German admirers. He wrote to Georg Herwart of Augsburg that the Germans were especially dear to him since his friends Cavalcanti and Pico were also of Germanic descent. All Germans, therefore, he considered his brothers (*germani*).

In the second half of the 15th century humanism made great headway in Germany. Germans trained in Italy lectured at German universities, but had often to change their residence. Their wandering life, immorality and doubtful attitude to religion did not recommend them to the respectable professors. When Petrus Luder was suspected by the theologians at Basle of doubting Holy Trinity he answered that before he would let himself get burned he was willing to believe even in Quaternity. The professors regarded the humanists as dilettanti, libertines and competitors using dishonourable means to attract the youth, such as lascivious poems and jokes. Their emphasis on an elegant Latin style and on making artificial verses seemed to them undignified. The humanists ridiculed the scholasticism of the academic pedants, they scorned the academic degrees, titles and discipline and hated the arrogant theologians, lawyers and medical doctors who claimed a higher rank for their faculties than that of the artistic one to which the humanists belonged. Yet more and more universities were invaded by the new spirit and soon new ones were founded which were favourable to it. This was largely due to the fact that the appreciation of the new studies spread also in the ruling circles, among the princes and high ecclesiastics, the nobility and the patriciate of the Free Towns. Many of them had a genuine interest in cultural refinement and learning, others were susceptible to the flatterings of the poets who promised them immortality, and some regarded it as good policy to offer the youth of their country humanism at home instead of letting them squander their money in Italy, where they might easily become corrupted.

Emperor Maximilian was a patron and friend of the new learn-

ing. He was craving for fame and immortality, he wanted publicity and was imbued with the love of knowledge and literature. Maximilian, therefore, surrounded himself with humanists of whom some were his trusted collaborators and friends. A legion of writers adored him and dedicated their works to him. The scholars, the Emperor once said, were the real rulers and should not be subjected to anybody. The greatest honour was owed to them because God and nature had favoured them before all others. He even became a writer himself. Some of his works describe in an allegoric form his life and deeds. Parts were dictated by him, while he outlined the rest and left the details to collaborators. Great artists decorated these books with woodcuts. Maximilian has also furthered various studies, in particular the interest in the old Germanic literature connected with the nascent German nationalism. His manifold activities were hampered by lack of concentration and money, but they showed the humanistic striving to develop a universal personality.

Among the clergy, too, humanism had ardent followers. Albrecht of Hohenzollern, Elector, Cardinal and Archbishop of Mayence, assembled many of them at his court. Other high ecclesiastics, too, favoured the new spirit and surrounded themselves with its disciples. A great proportion of the humanists were clerics and many of them were critical of the papal financial exactions in Germany, deplored the obscurantism and corruption widespread among the clergy, especially among the monks, and longed for a more spiritual piety. They thereby became harbingers of the Reformation.

The new vision of life and learning spread also in the ranks of the nobility. In most countries the nobles still looked with contempt upon a man of their class who devoted himself to studies instead of war. Yet the decline of feudal warfare and the development of the modern State compelled ever more noblemen to study law and to acquire a higher general standard of knowledge if they wanted to compete with the un-titled doctors at the courts of the princes. Many of them studied at Bologna or Padua and often spent years in Italy, where they imbibed the atmosphere of the Renaissance. One of them was the knight Ulrich of Hutten who possessed not only a great knowledge in the humanities, but also outstanding talent as a writer. He became a master of political satire, and an agitator for a revolution.

A warm welcome was given to the new spirit by many of the ruling men in the Free Towns. In Augsburg a circle of humanists gathered round Conrad Peutinger, a rich burgher related to the

great banker family of the Welsers. He had made his studies in Italy and became a prominent diplomat and intimate adviser of the Emperor. Besides, he was a learned antiquary and theologian and a great collector of antiquities. In Nuremberg a similar role was played by Willibald Pirckheimer. He, too, studied the law and the humanities in Italy and then became prominent as a statesman, historian, theologian and polemical writer. The Italian Renaissance and humanism have also greatly fertilised German art. In Augsburg their greatest representative was Holbein and in Nuremberg Duerer. Humanism flourished also in many other towns.

Many of its disciples became schoolmasters who regarded the humanities mainly as an instrument for the training of the mind of the youth and often wished also for a reform of education. Another type was that of the *littérateur*, or as the humanists said, poet—the man of letters writing an elegant Latin style. Others had an insatiable thirst for knowledge and often became poly-histors combining the humanities with natural science, jurisprudence, medicine, and so on. Another section saw the aim in the reform of religion and morality trying to fuse the Christian spirit with what was best in the wisdom of the ancient world. Lastly, humanism also encouraged a strong political current focussed on national independence from Rome, and national prestige in rivalling other nations. But also other political and social aims loomed ahead. All these strivings were interconnected and the same personality often was actuated by several of them.

The classical educationalist of the time was Jacob Wimpheling, a clergyman of Strassburg. He saw the goal of education in the development of a religious and moral character of the intellect and of useful knowledge. Poetry he placed below prose. Corporal punishment was to be banished from school. The teacher should not even touch the pupil with a finger. He and most other pedagogues were ardent German patriots. They wanted to educate the German people to higher civilisation in order to repudiate the charge of barbarism and to inspire it with patriotism. One of the greatest flaws of humanistic education was, however, that the German language was ever more neglected and eliminated from the schools.

The propagation of the new creed was also greatly furthered by the foundation of literary societies cultivating poetry and learning. In Vienna the Danubian Society was closely connected with the University and the Imperial Court. Its members were largely professors and high officials of the Emperor who competed in making

Latin poems but also published scientific studies, especially on mathematics, astronomy, philology and history. The most important among them was Johann Spiesshaimer (latinised: Cuspinianus), professor of rhetoric, prominent diplomat and many-sided scholar. The Rhenish Literary Society extended not only over the Rhinelands but also over Swabia and Franconia and comprised great scholars. Its chairman was Johann of Dalberg, Bishop of Worms, a very learned man. Soon the whole of Germany was covered with circles of humanists, who were in touch with one another and formed a new social class of great significance for public opinion. A characteristic trait of many of them was that they restlessly wandered from one place to the other, lecturing everywhere, making contacts and stimulating the spreading of their ideals. There was hardly a country of Europe which Paracelsus had not visited. The awakening of interest in other countries and peoples led also to the growth of a new kind of literature, namely descriptions of the world or of single countries, often with special emphasis on national characteristics and their causes. Most humanists further were indefatigable writers of letters. The extent of their correspondence was often surprising. It was not restricted to their own country but formed a net of personal contacts among the scholars of many nations. These letters were often designed to be read by a wider circle and in this regard were the forerunners of journals.

The class of humanistic poets was also very numerous. The most talented among them was Conrad Pickel, who called himself Conrad Celtes Protucius. He was a real poet, but also a many-sided scholar and one of the most active apostles of humanism. He wandered through all parts of Germany and was an ardent German nationalist. Everywhere he tried to organise humanistic activities, such as the search for old manuscripts. Another poet of talent was Heinrich Bebel, professor at Tuebingen. He was the son of a simple peasant who had procured both his sons a learned education. Bebel, too, was a fiery German patriot. Eobanus Hesse belonged to the numerous humanists who excelled in making poems in praise of a prince or city according to the fashion of the time.

The prototype of the class of polyhistorians was Johannes of Trittenheim, called Trithemius, an abbot whose monastic reforms induced his monks to revolt and who then became a prolific writer and acquired world fame. Trithemius was a most learned man, but also employed methods unworthy of a scholar. In his historical writings, for example, he referred to sources which were products

of his imagination. He also posed as a magician and was credited with supernatural power. This line of thought was continued by his disciples, Agrippa of Nettesheim and Theophrastus Paracelsus of Hohenheim. The speculations of this group sprang from Neo-Platonism and the Kabbala and were closely connected with astrology, alchemy and magical practices. Agrippa exhibited an astounding many-sidedness, as a physician, jurist, theologian, mathematician, diplomatist and officer who was knighted on the battlefield. Further he wrote works on Occult Philosophy and on the Vanity of Science which brought him universal fame. He was everywhere regarded as a great magician. Paracelsus had a similar philosophy but was primarily a physician who laid great stress upon learning from life and not from books. The search for magic power was in the spirit of the epoch. At that time there also lived the Doctor Faustus whom Goethe and Marlowe have immortalised, though the historic Faust was only an adventurer of evil repute. Other nations began to look upon Germany as the country of magicians and occult arts. It was probably Agrippa who created this impression. He himself saw the national characteristics of the Germans in their sense of religion and in their proficiency in mechanical inventions.

The spirit of the Renaissance, however, had not only revived the ancient speculations on the forces of the universe but also stimulated real progress in the fields of science. In Germany the great astronomer and mathematician Johannes Mueller, called Regiomontanus, the geographer Martin Behaim, the mineralogist, George Agricola, and the botanist Conrad Gesner laid the foundations of new branches of knowledge. The most momentous advance of science, however, was due to Nicolas Copernicus (1473-1543). After long studies in Italy he exercised manifold activities as a mathematician, astronomer, lawyer, physician, theologian, administrator and member of the Diet. In 1507 he finished a book which was, however, not published before 1543. It contained the theory that the earth and the other planets were revolving around the sun. This discovery initiated one of the greatest intellectual revolutions.

The longing to ennoble mankind by leading it back to the true spirit of Christ and to the genuine wisdom of the ancients inspired the work of Erasmus of Rotterdam (1465-1536), Johannes Reuchlin and Mutianus Rufus. Erasmus was of Dutch origin and was early imbued with the piety and love of learning cultivated by the Brethren of the Common Life. His youth was spent in his native country, partly in a monastery where he was filled with con-

tempt for the obscurantism and demoralisation of the mendicant friars. He then lived many years in England, where he felt particularly happy, in France and in Italy. At last he settled down in Basle, where the humanistic atmosphere was congenial to him, but he was compelled in consequence of the Reformation to move to Freiburg. In various countries the intellectual élite would have been proud if he had declared himself to belong to their nation, but he refused to be fettered by the bonds of any nationality and preferred to be a citizen of the world. His writings and conversation were in Latin and besides his native Dutch he knew little of modern idioms. Every nationalism was odious to him and he often scoffed at the vanity of every nation to consider itself superior to the others. The English, he wrote, believe themselves to excel in beauty, music and good food, the Scots are proud of their noble blood and of being acute dialecticians, the French claim priority in good manners, the Italians praise their literature and eloquence and are particularly proud that they alone are no barbarians. The Spaniards deny to all the others the possession of warlike glory, the Germans see their honour in their giant stature and in their magic art, and so on. The Dutch were often judged unfavourably by their great son and he also had on the whole not much respect for the Germans because of their fierceness and widespread lack of moderation. He showed more sympathy for the English, French and Italians. Yet, he was violently attacked by French and Italian humanists who accused him of having offended their national honour and called him an enemy of their nation.

Erasmus' greatest achievements as a scholar were his edition of the Greek New Testament (1516) by which many errors were revised and in general his initiative in going back to the original sources of Christianity where its spirit was at its purest. Yet, he was not only a great scholar but also a consummate writer and one of the first who made a living as an independent author, spurning profitable posts offered him. He lived, however, partly from gifts from princes to whom he dedicated books, since the fees paid by publishers at that time used still to be meagre and copyright was in a bad state. The greatest stir was made by his satire *Praise of Folly*, of which 43 editions and translations appeared during his lifetime, and 155 later up to our age. His *Instruction of a Christian Prince* scored 43 editions, of which 21 appeared while he was alive. Of his *Lament for Peace* he lived to see 19 editions and 16 followed after his death. Also other books of his had many editions. Erasmus' subtle wit and grace of style were the delight of all cultured people. The Pope, the Emperor,

Kings and the spokesmen of nations and parties were eager to win him for their cause. Charles V and some of his most important ministers were amongst his admirers, and the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, then King of Germany, had his Instruction of a Christian Prince always with him and knew it almost by heart. But the University of Paris, then the bulwark of scholasticism, in 1527 condemned his principal doctrines as heretical and pestilential errors, among them also his radical pacifism. Two years later it impeached the royal counsellor Louis de Berquin, a noble-minded and learned man who had translated some of Erasmus' writings into French, and had him burned at the stake. In vain Erasmus had urged him to flee to Germany, "where even the most ardent orthodox would not persecute anybody for such opinions and where a man could live entirely unmolested except if he would raise his voice too loud and excite the people to rebellion." The multitude of States always enabled a bold thinker to find somewhere an asylum in Germany.

The essence of Erasmus's beliefs was his spiritual view of Christianity in contrast to the prevailing outward piety. What mattered was not the power and splendour of the hierarchy and external ceremonies and sanctimonious practices, nor the acumen and fury of the theologians in defending dogmatic articles of Faith. True Christianity was love of God and our neighbours, peaceableness, forgiveness, unselfishness, a humble and pure spirit. But Erasmus regarded also Cicero's moral teachings derived from the Stoic philosophy as inspired by God and Socrates appeared to him as a saint. He defended his views in many works and understood how to express the most revolutionary criticism of existing abuses in an unimpeachable way, buttressed by quotations from the Bible or stated with great literary skill. A good summary is his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (Handbook of a Fighting Christian), which appeared in 1501. The whole life of a Christian, he says, is a fight, namely against his own base passions. His best weapon is the reading of Holy Scripture, but in the right spirit and after having studied the better of the ancient writers. The task of man is to vanquish his bad lusts and to follow reason or the spirit. His whole nature must be turned to Christ who is nothing else than love, simplicity, patience, purity and similar qualities. The Bible should not be understood literally but spiritually. Many of its sayings are meant in an allegorical sense, it speaks in pictures implying an idea. Erasmus seeks not for a mystical sense of these allegories but for a rational and moral one. The ancient myths told by the poets must also be interpreted in this way. God is

spirit and must be worshipped spiritually. If the right spirit is lacking all the outward rites, such as the sacraments, attending church, prayers, venerating the saints or their relics, fasting, almsgiving, monastic vows, etc., are nothing but crass Judaism. The principal point in Christianity is love of our neighbours as preached in the Sermon on the Mount. It is the heart of man that matters not his outward actions. Erasmus ridicules many practices as pagan superstitions and combats the view that priests and monks as such are something better than laymen.

All the views of the great humanist on political and social questions, too, were guided by his conviction that men must live according to the Sermon on the Mount. He rejected the grim theories of the Reformers that will was unfree and the fate of man determined by God's inscrutable will alone; neither did he accept the thesis that human nature was utterly corrupted by Adam's fall and unable to do good unless by God's grace. He believed that men were by nature capable of goodness, but he also had a deep impression of their blindness which had led to the words from the cross: Father, forgive them for they know not what they do.

Erasmus' views of human blindness have been laid down in his satire *Encomium Moriae* (Praise of Folly) in 1509. In it the Goddess Folly speaks about herself, and this fiction permits Erasmus to put forward through her mouth the most scathing criticism of all the existing powers, ranks, classes and nations. He attacks the Pope, the cardinals and other pillars of the Church, the kings, princes, noblemen, warriors, warmongers and so on in words which a Rousseau could not have surpassed in vigour. He condemns them for abusing their position to satisfy their own greed and lusts at the expense of the poor and oppressed. But also the schoolmasters, the lawyers, rhetoricians, poets, authors, scientists and philosophers—in brief the humanistic intellectuals, are held up to derision. The theologians and monks are flayed with particular gusto. The common people, too, are no exception. They are so full of folly that a thousand Democrits would not be enough to ridicule all their silly opinions and doings. This all comes from the fact that nature has endowed men with far more passion than reason. Yet, is human blindness not actually a blessing? Would otherwise the people tolerate their prince, and one man the other, if they did not deceive one another? The whole of society and government is founded on deception and folly. Men even want to be deceived and have more pleasure in falsehood and lies than in truth. Erasmus anticipates Rousseau also in wondering whether

the increase in knowledge and the progress of civilisation have not spelled disaster for mankind. All the learned rubbish was unknown to the simple men of the Golden Age who lived happily at the hand of nature and according to their own instincts. Has not God Himself warned Adam against eating from the tree of knowledge of good and evil?

First of all, Erasmus was a man of peace and detested every use of violence, even for an alleged good cause, whether in the form of war or in that of a revolution. Violence, he thinks, breeds further violence and degrades man to a beast. His writings are full with his horror of war, which he considered the worst scourge of humanity. The great warlords praised in history, such as Alexander, Hannibal or Caesar appeared to him as criminals and madmen. War led not only to the oppression of the vanquished enemy but also to a rise of tyranny at home enslaving its own people. Erasmus quoted Cicero's maxim that the worst peace was better than the most profitable war. He was even opposed to war against the Turks, though later he was compelled to modify this attitude on account of a great Turkish onslaught against the Christian nations.

Erasmus also proposed many ways of preventing or curbing war. The education of a prince should lay special stress upon showing him the folly of wars and dangerous adventures and inspiring him with zeal for peaceful tasks, for the reign of justice and welfare. A prince was not to be free to declare war without the consent of his people. But Erasmus was well aware that the people themselves were not always peaceable but filled with national hatred. It was rooted in the minds of the common people and was utilised by the ruling classes to their own profit. Why do the English hate the French? Even Erasmus' best friend, Thomas Morus, found that France was rather too big to form one State. The only hope was in reminding the peoples of the spirit of Christianity. The Rhine separates the French from the Germans but it does not separate Christians from Christians. Yet, Erasmus does not plead for one Christian World Empire. The Emperor's Chancellor Gattinara, an Italian, once tried to induce him to edit Dante's defence of the universal monarchy, which had been hushed up by the enemies of the Empire. We do not know what Erasmus answered. But it is known that he considered it wrong to unite in one empire two so different peoples as the Spaniards and the Germans.

The means which Erasmus proposed to prevent wars were the development of an international law, collective security and

arbitration. The frontiers were to be settled by international agreements and should then be absolutely unchangeable. The connection of countries by dynastic marriages was to be avoided. Conflicts should be settled by a Court of Arbitration composed of high dignitaries of the Church and other learned men. Spain, France and Germany were to conclude a permanent pact of peace and security. Erasmus set great hopes in the pope Leo X, who actually had a share in the conclusion of the Universal Peace of 1518 between England, France, Spain and the Papacy. The pact provided mutual help against any aggressor, was open to any other State and was to be permanent, but actually soon proved a complete failure. One of the most moving passages in Erasmus' writings is his advice to the Emperor how to make a peace of reconciliation with King Francis I, who had been made a prisoner of war in the battle of Pavia. It is also significant that Erasmus often seemed to lean more to the French side than to that of the Emperor, whose subject and Honorary Counsellor he was. His whole attitude was in accordance with a strong current of opinion in the Netherlands wishing for peace with France. If wars could not be avoided, Erasmus at least wanted that they should be conducted with as much humanity as possible. Even against the Turks, the most aggressive power of the time, the Christians should not wage an aggressive war designed to rob them, and they should not treat the individual Turks in a barbarous manner.

Questions of internal politics also formed the object of Erasmus' thought, though he did not frame a political theory. Both Christianity and Stoicism disposed him to see in every man a brother, and this would have led to a democratic outlook in politics. But ancient history and modern experience seemed to show that the great majority of men were unable, or not yet able, to govern themselves. In this respect the common man, in particular, appeared to Erasmus as entirely untrustworthy. Had not the people of Athens condemned a Socrates to death? Erasmus was in theory a republican, but in practice he accepted a monarchical regime. He says nothing of parliaments, though the Netherlands had very active diets, and though he had also had the opportunity of observing politics in England. At that time, however, the English Parliament was rather a façade for the dictatorship of Henry VIII. Like all the liberals of the time he regarded a good monarchy as the best regime possible under the existing circumstances. But even if the monarch was a tyrant, Erasmus was strongly against any revolution. Despotism was still better than anarchy. Ancient political theory had mostly come to the con-

clusion that a mixed government combining the good elements in a monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, and forming an internal balance of forces, was the best. Erasmus consented, but he did not elaborate the idea. His picture of a good government showed, therefore, the traits of a Christian paternal monarchy or of an enlightened absolutism respecting the historic rights of every class. He did not defend or praise the monarchical system as such and even believed that most princes were detestable. But he regarded them as the lesser evil and recognised that there were also some good rulers. In general, Erasmus believed that constitutions were of smaller importance than the spirit of those in power. The prince was to be the servant of the community and had to reign in a Christian spirit with the consent of the people and in accordance with the common weal. If he could maintain his power with force only, he should rather lay down his crown before shedding blood. The government should grant religious tolerance, be mild in punishing offences, enact few laws, provide for the poor and sick, for welfare and education, but manage if possible without much taxation. But Erasmus also recommends taxing the rich at a higher rate. He blames Aristotle for rejecting Plato's communism. Yet, this sympathy for communism was as Platonic as that for a democratic republic.

In his *Querela Pacis* Erasmus represented France almost as the ideal State. The kingdom was widely extended and flourishing, its senate exalted, its academy famous. Nowhere was concord greater and, in consequence, the central power stronger; nowhere was there a better reign of law and religion more observed—not corrupted by contact with Jews as in Italy, nor by the neighbourhood of Turks as in Hungary or by the influence of Maranos (secret Jews) as in Spain. In contrast Germany was divided into so many small principalities that great internal strife was the consequence. But the flourishing state of France aroused the envy, hatred and aggression of others. This was an allusion to Pope Julius II's policy of expelling by means of war the French from Italian soil. To this one could reply that France had got her Italian possessions by aggression. Erasmus' diagnosis correlating France's flourishing conditions with her internal unity and strong central power was certainly correct, though one might ask whether this had not to a great extent been achieved by means which Erasmus would surely have regarded as tyrannous.

The attitude of the savant to politics was an academic one and he did not meddle in politics. But his voice did not remain unheeded by the rulers of States. As Huizinga remarks Erasmus'

spirit exercised great influence on the ruling classes of Holland, and we may add that the later unprecedented flowering of wealth and civilization in this country aroused the admiration of Europe and induced enlightened rulers and statesmen to follow her example.

Once the power of orthodoxy was shaken not a few humanists went farther than Erasmus in denying the old views, though often in confidential letters only. Some were suspect of disbelieving in God and immortality, for example Hieronymus Balbus, professor in Vienna and later in Prague. Conrad Celtes confessed in a poem that he seldom went to church and did not mumble prayers because God was within man and there was no need to gape at his picture in church. The temple most worthy of Him was nature. The revival of Neo-Platonism fostered Pantheism or Panentheism. Such speculations were at first restricted to learned circles but were later popularised by mystical writers and their followers. It seems, however, that doubts concerning the teachings of the Church were also widespread among the common people.

Erasmus has had a decisive share in the development tending to transform religion into a purely spiritual attitude without need of outward rites, a Church and a priesthood, and to identify it with morality. This spiritualism regarded man as participating in the divine spirit. Its adepts also tried to purge the Bible from irrational features, such as miracles, by regarding them as allegories or by interpreting them in a rational way. In Germany Conrad Muth called Mutianus Rufus (1471-1526) a friend of Erasmus, was a prominent representative of this outlook. Like Erasmus he had been to school in Deventer and imbibed the spirit of the Brethren of Common Life. He then studied in Italy for seven years and later became a priest and canon in Gotha, the head of a circle of humanists at the nearby University of Erfurt and an influential adviser of the Saxon government. In his letters to intimate friends he spoke with infinite contempt of the power of the priesthood founded on shameless lies and backed by public opinion. He conceived Christianity as a spiritual attitude. God is spirit and love. Men are inspired by a creative, divine genius impelling them to unfold all their faculties to a moral personality. The true body of Christ is not the host offered at the altar but peace, concord and mutual love. Christianity was to Mutianus not a revealed religion but a natural one common to all men. Not only the Jews but also the Greeks, Romans and Teutons have received it, though they practised it in different forms. He quotes with approval the words of the Koran that everyone worshipping God

and living virtuously, whether Jew, Christian or Saracen obtained the grace of God and salvation. Those had the right religion who were righteous, pious and of a pure heart. Everything else was smoke. The Mohammedans may not be so wrong in contending that the true Christ was never crucified but somebody resembling him. Mutianus refers to Marsilius Ficinus as the source of this information. Many mysteries in the Bible were allegories. The story that Jonah stayed three days in the stomach of a whale, for example, might mean that he was sitting in a public bath which had a whale in its sign.

To the circle of Christian humanists belonged also Johannes Reuchlin (1455-1522), the most famous German scholar of the time. By profession he was a jurist and for many years he practised the law, first as an advocate and later as a high judge of the Swabian Confederation. But his fame primarily rested upon his position as the foremost Hellenist and Hebrewist of Germany. Pope Leo X once remarked he did not believe that all the other German scholars together knew as much as Reuchlin alone. Following the example of Pico della Mirandola he devoted himself to the study of the Jewish occult literature, the Kabbala, but not for any magical purposes—he hoped to find thereby the way to the deeper understanding of God and to salvation. With his mystical speculations he was on the wrong way, but we must appreciate the underlying idea that wisdom had developed from Oriental beginnings through Greek philosophy to Christianity. Like Nicolas Cusanus and Mutianus, therefore, he believed that all religions and philosophies were sparks of the divine spirit and religious, racial and national intolerance had no foundation. Guided by this view Reuchlin became the founder of Hebrew studies among the Christians and wrote various works on Hebrew grammar. Erasmus had initiated the study of the Bible in Greek, but he knew no Hebrew and was averse to the Talmud and the Kabbala. Reuchlin now opened to the Christians a new way to the Bible, which in many points led to a better understanding.

In these studies Reuchlin learned much from Jewish scholars with whom he was in friendly intercourse and to whom he paid grateful respects. Most humanists were not friendly disposed towards the Jews, not even Erasmus; many were definitely hostile, particularly because of the legalism of their religion. Reuchlin's attitude was different and though he lived retired from public affairs and had no wish to meddle in them, he was suddenly involved in a case in which the whole fate of the Jews in Germany was at stake. This case, moreover, became a critical struggle be-

tween the humanists and their adversaries. It began with the activities of a baptised Jew, of evil repute, Johannes Pfefferkorn, who had sometime been a butcher at Dachau and who, like many converts, showed particular zeal in denouncing his former co-religionists. He published several books against the Jews (1507-9), whom he charged with bitter enmity against the Christians. This he traced to the influence of the Talmud and he proposed to Emperor Maximilian to confiscate the whole Hebrew literature, to forbid Jewish usury and to force the Jews to attend Christian sermons designed to convert them. As he had the support of powerful clerical circles the Emperor accepted this proposition and entrusted at first Pfefferkorn with confiscating the books, but on the protest of the Archbishop of Mayence nominated a commission to investigate the whole matter. Reuchlin was appointed one of the commissioners and four universities should be asked for their opinion. Reuchlin opposed the indiscriminate confiscation of all the Hebrew books, and Pfefferkorn retorted with violent attacks charging Reuchlin with having accepted bribes from the Jews. He was backed by the Dominicans of Cologne.

Out of this controversy developed a struggle which lasted for more than ten years and which passionately agitated German public opinion. The case several times occupied the papal court which issued various decisions, first for the one, and then for the other side. A spate of pamphlets, books and cartoons appeared treating the various points of conflict, and the intervention of Franz of Sickingen led almost to an armed contest. But in the course of this struggle the Jews dropped out of the affair. It became a fight between the humanists and their enemies, those who stood for the new religious ideas and freedom of thought and the orthodox obscurantists. The peak was reached with the appearance of the most sensational literary product of the German humanists, the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum*. It came out in two parts, 1515 and 1517, without naming the author. The principal authors were Crotus Rubianus and Ulrich of Hutten, though others, too, contributed to it. The book was a satire ridiculing Reuchlin's adversaries in the form of letters allegedly sent to Ortuin Gratius, a prominent Dominican and professor at Cologne, by his friends and admirers. The monks are here described as completely ignorant but highly conceited fellows, mainly occupied with good food, wine and beer, and most of all out to sleep with every woman. The book was very witty and strongly spiced with obscenities. It was a great success and appeared in numerous editions. Erasmus praised it except for certain particularly filthy

parts. Many similar satires of the same kind followed, but also serious defences of Reuchlin. One of the best of these was by Pirckheimer, the Nuremberg patrician.

The political opinions of the German humanists differed greatly, but in two points the great majority more or less agreed. The first point was the critical attitude to the state of religion and the Church. The second point of agreement was their strong national consciousness. The intellectuals were everywhere the harbingers of modern nationalism. In Germany, in particular, the humanists deeply resented the habit of their Italian masters to look down upon the Germans as barbarians and they were resolved to show the world that their nation possessed a high and ancient civilisation, or was better than the Italians. This purpose induced them to scan the sources of the old German history and to search the archives for forgotten chronicles. The most momentous discovery had already been made by the Italian humanist Enoch of Ascoli who, sent by the Pope to search for manuscripts, found in a German monastery the only extant copy of Tacitus *Germania*. The book was first printed in 1470 in Venice. But the German humanists obtained notice of its contents earlier from references made to it by Italian writers. It filled them with great pride and stimulated their zeal to find other sources which might shed light on the past of the German people. They actually succeeded in finding many chronicles and other historical material of the greatest value. Soon they began also to write on the old history of Germany making use of the new sources.

Jacob Wimpfeling of Strassburg published in 1505 the first history of Germany. He wanted to give the Germans a history of their past, as most other nations already possessed, in order to arouse their patriotism and national feeling. He praised the virtues and achievements of the Germans and often showed himself prejudiced against other nations. The work was, however, largely compiled from the writings of Italian humanists. Other scholars followed with writings of a similar character. But most of them had no idea of historical criticism which was only in its beginnings, and they treated the subject more as publicists than as historians. Celtes, Irenikus and others indulged in phantastic hypotheses on the old Teutons, which were largely based on forged sources, namely the chronicle of Berosus, edited by the Italian abbot Annius of Viterbo, and alleged reports by Meginfried and Hunibald which were fabricated by the German abbot Johannes of Trittheim. A more critical approach to history was made by Nauclerus, Aventin and others who based their writings

on a careful study of the sources, though they still believed in the forged Berosus. But Beatus Rhenanus recognised that Berosus and Hunibald were falsifications. He was a pupil of Erasmus and the truest representative of his spirit. His German history is written in a calm, impartial and scholarly way. He did not indiscriminately praise the old Teutons but regarded them as barbarians, thought he condemned the habit of calling the modern Germans by that name. Beatus had no enthusiasm for warlike glory and world domination, as many other humanists had, but stressed the necessity of peace for the progress of civilisation. He even found that it was a blessing that the Gauls, unlike the Germans, did not fight the conquering Romans to the utmost but submitted to their domination. They have thereby become more civilised and refined while the Germans always retained something of their former ferocity.

Soon further sources on the old Teutons became known. Beatus Rhenanus edited Vellejus Paterculus. The first six books of Tacitus' *Annals* came to light and revealed the history of Arminius, the chief leader in the fight for German liberty against Rome. He became a favourite hero of the humanists. Hutten glorified him and compared his deeds with the struggle of the medieval German emperors against the Papacy. Germany's medieval history, too, was illuminated by the discovery of important chronicles, and many writers now celebrated the splendour of the old German Empire. Among the humanists the Swabians formed a very strong group which was particularly proud of the exploits of the Swabian dynasty of the Hohenstaufens.

The ardent interest in the German past was interrelated with the political situation of the time. Many humanists were fervent supporters of Maximilian's policy of restoring the power of the Empire and of expansion in Italy, which implied a fierce rivalry with France pursuing the same aim. Most Swabian humanists, and in particular those from Alsace, were specially hostile to France whose policy tended at annexations on the left bank of the Rhine and at acquiring the imperial crown for their dynasty. These aims, however, were defended by French humanists on the ground of Caesar's statements that the Rhine was Gaul's frontier and that the Gauls had formerly ruled in Germany. The Franks were regarded by the French as a Gallic tribe and Charlemagne as a Frenchman. All these arguments were hotly contested by German writers. Foremost among them was Jacob Wimpfeling. In 1501 he published his "*Germania*" dedicated to the Strassburg Town Council, which rewarded him for it. He primarily wanted to

refute the propaganda of the pro-French party in Alsace, and the French striving for annexing Strassburg. But he also stood for German nationalism in general and wished to promote his plan of a humanistic High School in Strassburg through his book. The satirist Thomas Murner replied to Wimpfeling and there was a lengthy controversy between the two authors and their respective followers. Murner had no wish for French expansion in Alsace, but he ridiculed Wimpfeling's hatred of the French and tried to refute his historical arguments. Both authors agreed, however, that the Alsatians were now Germans. Wimpfeling's anti-French attitude was still surpassed by other Alsatian humanists, such as Sebastian Brandt, Thomas Wolf, Hieronymus Gebwiler and an Anonymus of Colmar, who in their writings indulged in the strongest attacks against the French and in enthusiasm for German imperialism and, particularly for Maximilian. Not all humanists, however, shared this attitude. Many felt as citizens of the world, and others, though inspired by German patriotism, regarded peace as the highest aim. Celtes praised the German inventor of printing, but cursed the German who had invented the gun, wishing him unending torture in hell.

In these controversies old and new ideologies were strangely mixed. Wimpfeling, at first, laid stress on dynastic grounds in defending Strassburg's German character, but later emphasised the language of the people as the decisive factor. The medieval claim to world supremacy was frequently put forward, yet many Alsatian humanists regarded the Pope as superior to the Emperor, which is incompatible with modern nationalism. Some pointed out that the Germans were a particularly noble race, as according to Tacitus they alone had not mixed with others, and in all nations the most noble families traced their origin to Germanic stock. This argument had first been used by Campano, though he was a great hater of the Germans. To Brant the Germans were the Chosen People called by God to dominate the world. A fanatical nationalist was the afore-mentioned Anonymus of Colmar. He believed that Adam had been a German, as also Alexander the Great, and reviving an old legend he expected the coming of an Emperor Frederick who would subdue the whole world. All these writers bitterly deplored the internal strife rendering the Empire powerless. In order to restore the power and prestige of the Emperor many humanists hoped for a war of the Christian nations against the Turks in which the Emperor should have the supreme command.

The political views of the humanists were often reminiscences

from the old classical writers and, therefore, were more literary than practical. But many of them were also practical statesmen, either in the imperial service or in that of a Free Town. They often represented the German Emperors as successors to the Roman ones and glorified their power. But they were not for unrestricted absolutism. Wimpfeling condemned the abominable theory of the new jurists who deduced from the Roman law that the ruler was everything and the people nothing. He stressed that Rome's greatness was bound to the Senate and he admonished Maximilian to restore the Senate and to respect its advice. The princes were there for the people, not the people for the princes. But Wimpfeling greatly deplors that the different classes of the people were indulging in mutual hatred and were particularly hostile to the clergy, whom they envied for their income. Jacob Spiegel, a former secretary and intimate of Maximilian, pointed out that a prince was only the servant of the people. He could not decree laws except such conforming to justice and the common weal, and in case of conflict the people being God's instrument must have the decisive vote. The Colmar Anonymus was an ardent defender of the sovereignty of the people and the right of revolution. If the Emperor did not fulfil his duties or broke the law he might be deposed by the people, who might then choose another emperor, and be he even a peasant. Some humanists much appreciated the elective monarchy and regarded it as a prerogative of the German people who because of their unique virtues alone of all peoples had received from the Pope the right to elect their king. Spiegel and others stressed that the Germans gladly obeyed their emperor, but they had not the soul of slaves like the French and did not tolerate tyranny. Brant celebrates freedom as the highest good of inestimable value.

The opinions of the humanists on social questions varied. As already mentioned Felix Hemmerlein censored the rude peasantry with greatest contempt and animosity and praised the nobles ordained by God to rule and punish them. As a proof of the pre-eminence of the nobles he states that three of the apostles belonged to their rank and that Christ had worked his miracles mostly on noblemen. Wimpfeling was himself of peasant stock and three of his relatives were later decapitated for participation in the great peasant revolt. In his *Prayer of the Common Man*, published in 1517 without his full name, he described the miserable plight of the peasants, who were treated worse than beasts of burden. But he was full of hatred against the Swiss peasants who had revolted against the Empire, incited by the French. Hein-

rich Bebel, though the son of a peasant, took the same line. Under a penname he furiously attacked the Swiss and their sympathisers. The peasants should be content with their lot, in France the lower classes were treated much worse and, therefore, were less arrogant than in Germany. Bebel goes so far as to recommend the brutal method proposed by Hemmerlein. One should punish the peasant every year as a willow tree is trimmed with a knife in order to promote the growth of good wood. But, in general, Bebel sharply criticized the nobles oppressing the people. His hostility to the Swiss and their German friends was obviously due to his German nationalism. Conrad Celtes and Euricius Cordus, too, were of rustic descent, and bitterly blamed the tyranny of the upper classes against the peasants. Aventinus, who came from a wealthy burgher family, also castigated the ruling classes for their oppression of the common people. He demanded freedom of thought and speech for all men. Erasmus often expressed great sympathy for the poor country folk. Christian humanism emphasized the brotherhood of all men and appreciated the communism of the early Christians. Ancient writers, too, contained germs of communism, which sometimes were remembered.

Humanism as such, however, had no political programme. It merely fostered a certain mental attitude, a tendency to believe in human nature and to revolt against traditions impeding its full development. This outlook easily led to opinions anticipating those of modern liberalism such as sharp criticism of the power of the Church and privileged classes, hatred of tyrants, trust in the people, cosmopolitanism and pacifism, but also nationalism and the wish for a united and strong fatherland. Another trend was the romantic view of the evils of sophisticated society, the longing for a life in simplicity at the bosom of nature, the sympathy for the unspoilt common people and primitive man. Erasmus anticipated Rousseau's dream of the blessings of the simple, natural life aloof from civilisation. This trend was soon to lead to the fashion of pastoral poetry in Italy and France. But its beginnings can also be traced in the thought of certain humanists. When Tacitus wrote his *Germania* he may, to a certain extent, have been influenced by this spirit and German humanists followed him in extolling the simple virtues of the old Teutons or their religion without priests, images and rites.

The belief in human nature inspired many with optimism for the future. But those who had a great practical experience of the political and social conditions of the time did not share this senti-

ment and often had the foreboding that the emancipation of man from the rule of the Church might easily lead to an unprecedented revolution and unpredictable calamities. Erasmus' fear of a revolution was typical of this mental attitude. Mutianus Rufus shared his antipathy to any violence whether in war or in revolt. As the populace could not govern itself a leader was needed, who could only be a prince well trained for his office, enjoying the confidence of the people and upholding justice and the common interest. The main objects of policy were peace, quietness and concord. The unrest in Germany he largely ascribed to the towns. Mutianus was a fervent imperialist and expressed joy whenever Maximilian won a victory over France or Venice. Despite his utter contempt of the prevailing corruption in religion and the Church he was against any plan to overthrow the system, which would lead to anarchy. State and Church, he thought, must collapse if the passion of the multitude was aroused against them. He expected a reform from the spirit of humanism, which guided already enlightened rulers, such as Pope Leo X and Archbishop Albrecht of Mayence. Mutianus himself was a subject of Frederick of Saxony, who was the model of a good prince and who often consulted him in matters of State.

The revolution which the leading humanists feared so much was already in the offing. When Luther published his theses he gave the signal for its outbreak though he did not anticipate the consequences. The fiery humanist Ulrich von Hutten soon tried to convert the spiritual revolution into one of physical force.

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PART II

THE REFORMATION AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

Besides the general bibliographies and handbooks with ample bibliographies mentioned on page 9, there are special ones for this epoch. Schottenloher, *Bibliographie*, 6v., 33-40, gives the literature for 1517-85; G. Wolf, *Quellenkunde*, 3v., 15-23, is also useful. The classical work is Ranke, *Dt. Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reformation* (best ed. in 5v., 25). Janssen, *Gesch. d. dt. Volkes seit d. Ausgang d. Mittelalters*, 8v. (best ed., 97-03), is the great Catholic counterpart, and is particularly important through its materials concerning the public mind. Of both works there are Engl. translations. More recent presentations of the whole Reformation — all of them of the highest merits — are by Bezold, 1890; Brandt (including the Counter-Reformation), 2v., 27-30 (3 ed. in v., 1942); Joachimsen, 52 (abbreviated also in *Propyläen Weltgesch.*, ed. Goetz, v.5, 30. and G. Ritter, *Neugestaltung Europas im 16 Jahrhundert*, 50). Lortz, *Reformation in Deutschland*, 3 ed., 48, is also valuable. Pastor, *Gesch. d. Päpste* (Engl. transl.), is a most important work. Mentz, *Dt. Gesch. 1493-1648*, is a valuable handbook. Fueter, *Gesch. d. europäisch. Staatensystems 1492-1559*, is very illuminating for the international background. W. Andreas, *Deutschland vor der Reformation*, 5 ed., 48, is a masterpiece.

Numerous important contributions were published in the *Archiv fuer Reformationsgeschichte* and in the *Schriften des Vereins fuer Reformationsgeschichte* (both Protestant), and in the *Reformationsgeschichtl. Studien*, etc., by Greving and others (Catholic).

For the history of the principal German territories cf. p. 9 and Vehse, *Gesch. der deutsch. Höfe seit d. Reformation*, 48vol., 1851, etc.

EMPEROR CHARLES V

MAXIMILIAN I died in 1519, and a new Emperor had to be elected. The Habsburg candidate was Maximilian's grandson Charles who a few years before had already inherited the Burgundian lands and later Spain and her dominions, and now became heir to the Austrian and Swabian territories of his house, too. His greatest rival was Francis I., King of France. Of the German princes the only possible choice was Elector Duke Frederic of Saxony, but he refused and his mild and charitable character actually disqualified him. When it was once proposed to him to occupy an important town by force, which would cost no more than perhaps the life of five soldiers, he replied: 'One would be too much.' The election campaign was therefore exclusively fought out between two foreigners who both were absent. Neither of them spoke the German language, was of predominantly German descent, or thought of residing in Germany. The Archbishop of Mayence gave a significant explanation of this fact: 'No German prince,' he said, 'was rich enough to defray the expenses of an Emperor out of his pocket. He would have to introduce heavy taxes, and this would be a great risk considering the excited mood of the common man in Germany.'

Both sides spent enormous amounts to bribe the electors, their counsellors, friends and servants. The French King was backed by the wealth of his country, and his treasury; the Spanish King had the support of the South German money magnates, the Fuggers and Welsers. Some of the electors several times changed their mind, when one or the other candidate increased his offer. Particularly pro-French was the Elector of Brandenburg who hoped that he would become Francis' deputy in Germany. The French

King, however, made the mistake of letting his envoys stress his power too much—promising that he would establish in Germany the same peace and order as in France. This frightened the princes. Now Charles seemed to them the lesser danger to their own power. The Swiss strongly protested against the election of a non-German as they believed that Francis would as German Emperor become too independent of Switzerland who provided him with most of his mercenaries. The Pope, on the other hand, long worked for Francis who appeared to him the lesser evil.

But national feelings too played a certain role. The humanistic intellectuals were inspired by Maximilian's romantic nationalism and jealousy of France. They were also angered by the fact that the Pope stood on Francis' side. But their praise of Charles's 'noble German blood' was a curious illusion. The young prince was by birth a Netherlander of the French language and rooted in the Burgundian tradition which implied antagonism to France. He later became a Spaniard, and learned Spanish. But he never bothered to learn much German, though he knew Flemish, which is a low German dialect. His first personal address to the Reichstag was in French and he always used this language in corresponding with his brother Ferdinand and the German princes. Towards the end of his reign he had picked up a little German, but at the Reichstag of 1547 he preferred to address the ecclesiastical princes in Italian.

A factor working for Charles' election was also that any other choice would have aroused the utmost resistance of the Habsburgs, and have led to a civil war. At last all the six electors cast their votes for Charles. But they imposed upon him conditions called Capitulation, which henceforth with modifications were prescribed to every emperor. Charles had to guarantee their privileges, promise them help against any conspiracy or revolt of their subjects, and grant them a considerable influence on the government of the Empire. He had further to pledge himself to employ in Germany only Germans, to use in acts of governing only the German or Latin language, to call no Reichstag at a place outside Germany, to bring no foreign troops into the country, and not to diminish its territory but to recover the lands lost.

The new Emperor ruled over an immense agglomeration of Kingdoms greatly differing in language, traditions and interests. Each had its separate government and Estates of considerable influence. Spain consisted of five States, and her Italian dominions of three. In the Low Countries the Estates assembled during his

reign more than fifty times. In France in the same period the Estates General were not assembled once. Between the different countries under Charles's rule there was often great jealousy. In the loose association of countries Spain became the most important member. But among the eight counsellors of State two only were Spaniards, and the principal ministers were first the Belgian de Chièvres, then the Italian Gattinara and lastly the Burgundian Granvela. Spanish interests obtained, however, preponderance because the Emperor's wars sprang mainly from the Spanish-French antagonism and because Spain and her dominions, together with the Netherlands, contributed most to his financial and military forces. Yet the Emperor was constantly in the greatest financial difficulties and in consequence his mercenaries often mutinied or deserted before they had finished their task. All these facts explain why the power of the Emperor was much smaller and more uncertain than might have been expected from the lord over so vast an Empire.

The Emperor had five times to wage war with France who was often supported by the Pope, while the Ottoman Empire attacked, or threatened, the eastern parts of the Empire. These wars belong more to Spanish than to German history, and therefore need no closer treatment here. Yet Charles was no lover of war, and Armstrong judges that his wars were all defensive. The principal cause of these struggles was France's striving for aggrandisement in Italy, which had already started in 1492, and lasted with interruptions till 1559, and in later times was repeatedly resumed. On the Emperor's side the principal advocate of an active Italian policy was his Grand Chancellor Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara, an Italian risen in the Burgundian service. He was an enthusiast for Dante's idea of a powerful Emperor as the protector of peace, justice and unity in the world, and especially in Italy, the victim of unending internal struggles and of foreign conquerors. He told the Emperor that control of Italy was the key to world supremacy. What mattered, however, was not the possession of territories, but a position commanding universal respect. His aim was a federation of the North Italian States under the Emperor's overlordship. As France seemed to him the main obstacle Gattinara wanted to reduce her power by enforcing the cession of the Duchy of Burgundy as a part of the inheritance of the Habsburgs. When Francis I. was a prisoner in the hands of Charles V. this advice prevailed, but the result was that the King repudiated the cession after he had been released. Charles, however, later adopted a more conciliatory policy, and tried to win his rival by

concessions, and by marriages between their families. In general, the Emperor laid great stress upon connecting all dynasties with his house by family ties, and thereby creating confidence and good will among the monarchs.

Charles V. was a pious son of the Catholic Church; he did his best to maintain her unity, but also to purify her from corruption and abuses. His conviction moreover coincided with his interest as the King of so fervently Catholic a country as Spain. When the rise of Protestantism threatened the very existence of the old faith in Germany, he made every effort to bring about a compromise, and to prevent a split in the Church. This aim was frustrated partly by the intransigents in both religious camps, partly by the great struggles between the Emperor and his enemies which compelled both sides to take regard to the Protestants in order to weaken the adversary. The Pope, in particular, often regarded a full victory by Charles V. as a greater menace than the spread of Protestantism. The experience of the Hohenstaufen age seemed to repeat itself.

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THE CAUSES OF THE REFORMATION.
LUTHER'S PERSONALITY

THE origins of the Reformation and its motives have for centuries formed the object of great controversies. Every change in the general religious and philosophical tendency of the age led to a new interpretation and evaluation both of Luther's personality and of the influence of his environment. It became increasingly clear that a great many factors have contributed to the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, that many of its sentiments and ideas had been brewing for a very long time, and had been expressed by forerunners of Luther of whom the most important ones were not Germans. If it was reserved to Luther to start a world-wide revolution, this was partly due to the fact that he far surpassed all his predecessors by the power of his personality, partly to circumstances rendering the time ripe for his venture. Even Luther's giant strength would not have achieved so rapid and far-reaching a transformation of the mind of his time, if, for example, printing and the book trade had not made possible an unprecedented permeation of large masses with his words. Printing had been invented only thirty-three years before Luther's birth, and when he became a student there were already in Germany about a thousand printers. An analysis of the spirit of the time before the Reformation shows many forces which prepared its coming and contributed to its success. The great struggles between the spiritual and temporal powers, and within the Church, had weakened her authority. The development of her organisation to an enormous machinery of domination and exploitation, and the glaring corruption of a large section of the clergy were in flagrant contrast to the message of Christ. Many of the rulers of the Church were hardly Christians, and

the whole people had the opportunity of coming in contact with priests and monks whose lives were scandalous. But there was also a great clerical proletariat filled with bitterness against the prelates living in luxury while the lower ranks of the clergy were often left in misery.

Besides such personal experiences there were great political conflicts undermining the respect for the Church. National resentment was aroused by the financial exactions of the Roman Court and its interference with German affairs. The Grievances of the German Nation had been discussed in many sessions of the Reichstag and of Councils. The greatest rival of the power of the Church, however, was the modern State, which then was rapidly developing. In England, France and Spain strong Kings had with the support of the middle classes put down the great feudals, and had laid the foundations of national States. The Papacy had been forced to leave to these kings the decisive power over their Churches, and their revenues. In Germany the territorial princes too had received concessions of this kind, though less far-reaching ones. It was clear that this process would go on, and would transfer further powers and possessions of the Church from the Pope to the princes. This transfer not merely satisfied their personal ambitions, but substantially contributed to the building of modern administrations securing to the people more justice and welfare, and cleansing the Church herself from unworthy elements and much corruption. The towns had particular reasons to wish for obtaining control over parts of the Church. The later middle ages were filled with bitter struggles between the towns and the clergy living there, especially the bishops and the monks. But there were also wide circles which envied the Church for her wealth, and would have welcomed any opportunity of seizing parts for their own profit. In the middle ages many princes, nobles and knights had pursued this aim, not a few with success, and this stimulated others to use some legal pretext for despoiling the Church.

Besides these political, moral and financial grievances, however, there was also a sincere longing for a religious renovation which paved the way for the Reformation. Andreas has in a scholarly work given a masterly picture of this feeling showing its wide distribution, intensity and manifold manifestations. That the religious practice of the Church showed many features incompatible with the spirit of Christ was easy to see. But the finding out of what was wrong in the beliefs, and how they might be reformed, required a knowledge of the Scriptures and theology

attainable to restricted circles only. It has often been maintained that the Reformation sprang from an inborn Germanic sense of spiritual freedom, and that the Latin and Slav peoples were less disposed for it than the nations of Germanic descent. But this view is not confirmed by the facts. Johannes Haller has in a great work on the Papacy put forward the thesis that the Popes ascended to supremacy in the Church owing to Germanic peoples, namely the Anglo-Saxons and the Franks. Many religious practices which Luther combated were remnants of Germanic paganism rooted in the people's mind. The Church had at first tolerated them, and later integrated them into her system adding further ones. Strict monotheism and a purely spiritual religion were not congenial to the people. Every occupation and locality was under the protection of a special saint, and beliefs in demoniacal powers, and magical practices were embracing the whole life.

In regard to unorthodox religious opinions the Church was more tolerant before than after the Reformation, provided they were not spread in order to stir up the people against her. Erasmus was a significant example. But certain beliefs, served also to strengthen the power of the hierarchy and to secure the obedience of the believers. The fact that many members of this hierarchy were unworthy of their office was obviously realised by many people of whom the great majority was not able to form an opinion on biblical and theological questions. In Germany the clergy was particularly discredited. The word *Pfaffe*, which originally merely meant priest, has become a word of abuse in the German language for which other languages have no equivalent. A great evil was that prebends designed to provide a clergyman with a living, were often given to a person for quite other reasons, and that the same person often received several, or even many, prebends. Albrecht of Brandenburg, at twenty-three years, became a double archbishop, administrator of a bishopric, and soon also a cardinal. The power of the nobility over the Church, and its demoralising influence, was greater in Germany than in most other countries. In a State with a strong royal power, such as England, France and Spain, the king nominated the bishops, and on the whole used this right more wisely than was done in Germany by the noblemen in the chapters who decided which of them should become bishop. In the villages the lord of the manor usually was the patron of the churches and often chose a badly qualified curate because he was cheap. He knew that the bishop, himself a nobleman, would not object. Yet in Germany also there were many good priests in high and in subordinate posts. But

in comparison with States where the central power was strong German conditions were bad.

Yet it was not exclusively collective factors which made the Germans take the lead in breaking with the Papacy. The personality of Martin Luther was of decisive significance in bringing about the rupture, and had a unique influence in shaping Germany's religious and political destiny.

Luther came from the common people, and his character always showed marks of this origin. He was born in 1483 at Eisleben in Thuringia and his father was a peasant who later took up mining, and acquired some wealth. Both parents kept the boy under harsh discipline. Yet he received a good education and in 1501, at eighteen years, became a student at the University of Erfurt to read law. Erfurt was then becoming a centre of humanism, but Luther does not seem to have been much affected by it. In his youth already he had fits of deep melancholy, and when he was struck by lightning and injured he made a vow to become a monk. He later said that he had entered the monastery because he despaired of himself. His father was strongly against this step. In 1505 Luther became an Augustinian monk, made extensive studies, visited Rome, and was sent by his Order to the University of Wittenberg where he lectured on the Bible. His thought developed under the influence of a penetrating study of the Scriptures, and a wide reading of theological literature, in particular of the Apostle Paul, St. Augustine, William of Occam and German mystics. Luther gradually formed opinions deviating from orthodoxy, but he did not yet contemplate a breach with the Church.

Probably no historic figure has ever given rise to so many widely divergent interpretations of which Boehmer has given an excellent survey. Luther has now been studied for four centuries, an enormous literature about him has appeared, comprising many books of great value,—and yet continually scholarly works come out shedding new light on his thought, character and work. Even Luther's adversaries, however, admit that he was a genius, a person of almost superhuman energy, possessed with extraordinary power over the minds of men.

The difficulty of defining Luther's personality is partly due to the fact that his character comprised a perplexing variety of forces, and that both his internal development and the challenge of changing historic situations brought about astounding alterations in his attitude. His mind showed a strange mixture of divergent dispositions, such as deep humility and defiant self-

assertion, great self-discipline and unbridled passion, genuine good-heartedness and shocking harshness, common sense and eccentricity, culture and primitivity, enlightenment and superstition. He had an extremely sensitive conscience, a deep feeling of moral responsibility and active love towards his fellow-men—and yet he could hurl terrible words of vituperation and condemnation not only against his adversaries, but also against the peasants in revolt, the Jews and others, and could sanction actions like the bigamy of Philip of Hesse. Luther's mind was most acute, critical and fertile—yet he distrusted human reason and called it the devil's whore. The irrational powers in him frequently overwhelmed his critical faculty. In particular, he was dominated by the feeling of being directed by God whose guidance must not be checked by reason. 'No good work,' he said, 'is done out of our own wisdom, everything must be done in a half-conscious way' (Dusel). He sometimes felt not to be the master of himself. 'I am carried away and know not by what spirit.' True, he sometimes repudiated the idea of his disciples that he was a prophet, but at other times he himself claimed to be one. It sometimes seems that he really had no lust for power and domination, and was not fond of fighting as such, and yet he often showed an unbounded pugnacity and a ferocity in polemics incompatible with the mild and forgiving spirit of Christ. He confessed he could not pray without cursing the papists. True, his adversaries too were in their polemics coarse, intolerant, and aggressive, but Luther surpassed every rival.

Luther was very conscious of the mysterious antinomies in the ideas of God and man; he brooded over the riddles of free will and predestination, and was deeply disturbed by the problem of moral responsibility. He came to the conclusion that God had given Man commandments, which he had to carry out under the penalty of eternal damnation, and yet He had denied him the strength to fulfil His orders by his own forces. The struggles in his soul tormented him and drove him to the brink of despair. Bodily sufferings aggravated his internal conflicts. His gloomy view of human nature left him only one hope, that of salvation by the grace of God. In spite of his firm belief in God's protection, however, he felt constantly surrounded and threatened by devils appearing in the form of black dogs or boars or making themselves audible by strange noises. But he was convinced, that the devil could be driven away by an indecent gesture or phrase vulgarly used to express utter contempt and defiance.

Luther's working power and rapidity of writing were amazing.

His works fill fifty-seven large volumes of the Weimar edition. The first draft of his translation of the Gospels was finished within two months, during his stay at the Wartburg, though he was in this place lacking adequate philological aids. In about thirty years of his literary productivity he wrote three hundred and fifty tracts, or almost one every month, besides an enormous amount of other work. It often happened that he dashed down a few pages and sent them to the printer before finishing the book. This made it impossible to revise the text when his passion might have cooled down. Many of his overstatements, therefore, sprang mainly from his mood at the time of writing. But when they had been made public it was hardly possible to retract them. At another time, however, a different mood might be expressed in a considerable modification of his previous views.

His ideas of God and man's relation to Him dominated Luther's mind so exclusively that nothing else mattered. Luther had a strong sense of hard, but God-ordained necessities which all the wisdom of man could not change, and of the relativity of moral and political values in comparison with the will of God. If therefore religion was at stake no other value counted. In this respect Luther was a radical who knew one aim only, and tolerated no compromise. This too led him to defend at different times theses which appear to be contradictory.

Luther's tremendous success as a popular writer and preacher was partly due to the fact that he expressed feelings vaguely latent in the mind of countless men and women of all classes, and did it with irresistible power in a language familiar to the people. He possessed an extraordinary knowledge of human nature and unsurpassed frankness in describing it, a fertile poetic imagination, an inexhaustible vocabulary and a strong sense of humour, besides the temper and vigour of a prophet. These faculties made him one of the greatest writers of all times. His most valuable gift to the German people was his translation of the Bible. It was by no means the first German version. The Scriptures were first made accessible in the vernacular in the form of paraphrases, partly mixing their content with legends, partly closely following the Vulgata. More than a hundred manuscripts of this kind are known. Then followed translations proper. W. Walther has shown that from 1466 to 1518 essentially the same German text was published in eighteen printed editions. Two hundred and two manuscripts of other translations also exist, among them ten of the whole Bible. From remnants he concludes that there must have been about three thousand six

hundred German manuscripts. Before Luther, the New Testament was printed twenty-five times in German. There were one hundred and fifty-six Latin editions besides, and the knowledge of Latin was widespread also among non-clerics of the middle classes.

It is not true that the Church had generally forbidden the people to read the Scriptures, though the Pope or bishops decreed prohibitions when heretical movements were spreading. The Church was aware that in the hands of uninstructed people the Bible was a most dangerous book. It has many times given rise to heresies and to social and political tendencies considered subversive. Simple-minded readers were inclined to take its allegorical language literally or to regard rules given for quite different conditions as obligatory for all times. The ecclesiastical authorities therefore wished that the Christian unlearned in theology should read only selected parts of the Bible, and should understand them in the sense approved by the Church. But a large section of the clergy also was ignorant of the original and full text of the Bible. A new epoch was initiated by Erasmus' Greek edition and Latin translation of the Gospels (1516) and by Luther's German version of first the Gospels and then of the Old Testament. Luther possessed a wide knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin; he made use of Erasmus' work and of previous translations and, on the whole, greatly surpassed his predecessors in understanding the sense of difficult passages, and in expressing it in German. Opponents have criticised his translations of many sentences, and there is no doubt that he was often misled by preconceived opinions. He sometimes read his own thought into the words of the Bible, and stubbornly clung to his interpretation even if it was in glaring contradiction to the text. Moreover, it must be remembered that Luther, like all the Reformers, lived before the development of modern Biblical studies which in many points have fundamentally changed views on the Scriptures. In spite of all this, however, it must be said that he has opened a new spiritual world to countless people, and that the reading of the Bible initiated by him has had incalculable consequences in many fields and in many nations. His translation has also enriched the German language, and has done much to bridge over the diversities of German dialects and to give the Germans a common language, though this process had already begun before his time.

The starting point of Luther's religious thought was his conviction that human reason and will-power alone were utterly unable to bring forth a life according to God's will and to secure

salvation. Divine grace was needed to save man and it could not be won by outward works such as the sacraments, ceremonies, prayers, fasting, pilgrimages, celibacy, donations, or alms, but by faith in God alone. Faith, however, did not primarily consist in the acceptance of dogmatic beliefs. This alone would not have been enough. Faith was the pious confidence in God's fatherly love and mercy, which would make him forgive the repentant sinner and receive him into the divine community. To this end man had to give up his self-love, pride and egoism and subject himself completely to the will of God. This new mind was also expressed in works of love, though these alone had no value. Luther called this process justification by faith alone. It was a purely subjective act not bound to external rules and rites, or to the belief in a system of theological doctrines, though at least the belief in redemption by Christ's death was considered necessary. The Bible alone was to be the guide of the Christian, not the teachings of the Church, however old and time-honoured. Every Christian was to have the right to read and to interpret the Scriptures himself. In this way Luther came to reject many traditions and institutions of the Roman Church, in particular its hierarchy. The Christian needed no mediator in conversing with God, and no clergy with alleged supernatural powers and a sacred authority. Every true Christian was a priest himself, and the Church was not an external organisation but the community of the true believers visible to God alone. No government had the right to interfere in religion, or to prescribe to anybody what he should believe.

These principles fundamental to Luther's teachings seemed to lead to the replacement of the old Church by free congregations based on voluntary membership, without elaborate dogmas, or the power of coercion, with lay preachers, and inspired by toleration. But the development of Lutheranism soon took a very different course which will be outlined later. Luther shared the fate of many other prophets in seeing his work, and his own mind, developing in a direction other than he had anticipated.

Critics of Luther have often attributed his shortcomings to his personality. But though certain flaws in his character are as undeniable as his great qualities they are both illustrations of the mystery of human nature, the antinomy of reason and unreason, freedom and unfreedom, merits and demerits in the soul of man. Throughout its whole history human thought has always wavered between an optimistic and a pessimistic appreciation of human nature. Already the Book of Genesis tells that God, after having

created nature and having made man after his likeness, 'in his image,' saw everything that he had made, and, 'behold, it was very good.' But shortly after 'God saw that the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually. And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.' Such contradictions had a great share in inducing the Catholic Church to be very cautious in letting the unlearned read the Bible. The old Church tried to solve the riddle by a compromise. Man was neither quite bad nor quite good, neither quite free nor quite unfree. There was a harmony between all things God had created: nature and man, reason and revelation. But Luther saw this problem in a quite different light. Human nature appeared to him as abject, and reason as treacherous. His personal approach to the question is a matter for historical interpretation. The problem as such, however, exists also for the modern mind shaken by the experience that all the triumphs of reason could not prevent the outbreak of a new barbarism.

Among Luther's disciples and admirers were many men of great gifts, and efficient collaborators. The most important of these was Philip Melanchthon, or Melanthon, as he preferred to write his Grecized name. He came from South-West Germany, was an accomplished classical scholar, and was in 1518 on his relative Reuchlin's recommendation appointed professor at Wittenberg university. Melanchthon was more than a mere collaborator. Though he was deeply influenced by Luther's thought, the latter also owed much to him, and to a great degree they supplemented one another. Melanchthon was a Christian Humanist whose spirit resembled that of Erasmus and Reuchlin. Luther was a passionate fighter, intransigent and tempestuous; Melanchthon was a man of peace, always striving to achieve unity among Christians by moderation, mildness and conciliation. He did his best to avoid the breach with Rome, and the bitter rivalries among the Protestants. It was he who brought Luther's teachings into a theological system, elaborated the Augsburg Confession, and organised higher education combining the gospel with the best thought of classical antiquity. In particular he tried to develop a moral philosophy by blending Christianity with the doctrines of Plato, Aristotle and Cicero, and the Bible with the Law of Nature. He tended to modify rigid Lutheranism in a sense of rationalism and moral education and consequently was later violently attacked by the orthodox party. The spirit of Humanism was actually incompatible with the fundamentals of Luther's

thought. But the antagonism long remained latent, and its open outbreak was prevented by the mutual admiration of the two men, though Melanchthon had often much to suffer from Luther's domineering personality. Melanchthon added most important elements to Protestant thought, which in the long run made an immense contribution to Germany's moral and cultural development.

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LUTHER'S ATTACK ON THE PAPACY AND ITS IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES

THE great storm which had long been brewing broke in 1517 when Luther published his 95 theses protesting against the selling of Indulgences. This practice degraded religion to a financial bargain. The immediate cause of Luther's step was the scandalous way in which a popular preacher, the Dominican Tetzel, was acting as a tout in this business. It seems that he did not actually use the words attributed to him by Luther that when the money tinkled in the box, the soul leaped from purgatory to heaven. But in any case the sense of his words came very near this blasphemy. Luther at that time did not yet reject Indulgences altogether, neither did he impugn the authority of the Pope or wish to cause a split in the Church. But the Dominicans deeply resented his attack on their friar, and laid the matter before Pope Leo X. A quiet settlement might have been possible but for the acrimonious controversies stirred up by the Dominicans and other adversaries of Luther. The Augustinians, however, to whom Luther belonged, regarded him as an ornament of their Order and took no steps against him. Moreover, he enjoyed the protection of Frederick of Saxony whose subject he was, though Frederick did not identify himself with his doctrines, and even always declined to meet him. In Luther's mind a rapid development took place; he soon denied the claim of the Pope to primacy in the Church, he came to regard him as the Antichrist, he appealed against him to a General Council, and shortly after found that a Council too could err. The revolt against the hierarchy spread like wildfire. A year after its outbreak the unknown monk had become famous all over Germany. Various attempts of the Pope to silence him failed, and at last Leo X in 1520

condemned a number of his theses as heretical, and excommunicated him. Luther retorted by publicly burning the Bull of excommunication and the lawbooks of the Church. Moreover, he wrote and published in quick succession several books of fundamental importance condemning the whole papal system, and laying down his own doctrines.

Shortly after the final break with the Church Luther was summoned to appear before the Emperor and the Estates of the Empire. Charles V had come from Spain and had first stayed in the Netherlands where he had ordered the burning of Luther's writings. But in Germany the Emperor could not act without the Estates, among whom many were averse to sharp measures, partly from sympathy with the bold critic of the Papacy, partly from fear of public opinion. The papal legate Aleander in 1512 reported that nine-tenths of the Germans raised the war-cry: Luther!—and the rest at least shouted: Death to the Roman court! This obviously was an overstatement, but there certainly was a mighty wave of anti-papal feeling. The Estates warned the Emperor that the common man was so agitated by Luther's teachings that a decree outlawing him would not be obeyed, but would lead to revolt. Luther should at least be heard, and if he was found to be a heretic they would then consent to measures against him. Frederick of Saxony persuaded the Emperor to give Luther a hearing. This was done at the Diet or Reichstag of Worms (1521). Luther appeared under a safe conduct, was questioned, and clung to his conviction. His bold stand on the principle that religion was a matter of conscience made a deep impression. After his departure the Emperor put him under the ban of the Empire, thereby making him an outlaw. The decree was drafted by the legate Aleander, who connected with it strict measures against the printing and sale of any books directed against the Church, subjecting them to the censorship of the bishops and the theological faculties of the universities.

The Diet also renewed the enactments of 1495 concerning the permanent Public Peace, and the Reichs-Kammergericht, or High Law Court, and established a Regency composed of representatives of the Estates and the Emperor. The intention of the Estates had been to use it as an organ for governing the Empire permanently according to their wishes, but the Emperor managed to restrict it to the periods of his absence from Germany, and in a few points to restrict its competence. Lastly the Estates voted means for the maintenance of the High Court and a contingent of troops for the Emperor's progress to Rome. Each Estate had

to provide a quota of troops which was entered into a register called *Matrikel*. This register of 1521 remained the basis of all further military commitments of the Empire until its end.

Charles's visit to Germany was short, as Spanish affairs and the international situation compelled him to return to Spain. Before leaving he transferred his Austrian and other German lands to his brother Ferdinand who was also made his representative in the Regency. For the next nine years Charles was absent from Germany, occupied by war with Francis I of France for the supremacy in Italy. Luther's proscription remained ineffective. He lived for a year in concealment at the Wartburg, a castle of his protector, Elector Frederick, busy with translating the gospels and with other work.

After the Emperor's departure the Regency took over the affairs of the Empire. It consisted mainly of high officials of the territorial States among whom Johann von Schwarzenberg, a great jurist, Humanist and writer, was outstanding. He, like other counsellors, leaned to the cause of religious reform, and they did what they could to prevent any strong measures against Luther's movement. The Edict of Worms was proclaimed as a law in some territories only. The new Pope, Adrian VI, a Netherlander of deep piety and great learning, who had been the instructor of the young Emperor, condemned the corruption in the Church and was determined to carry out a great reform. At the Reichstag of 1523 the Papal Nuncio Chieregati declared that the Church had been blemished by many abominations, and that the Pope was resolved to abolish all the abuses, but the progress of Lutheranism must be stopped. The Regency, however, again opposed energetic steps against Luther, Adrian VI died suddenly, and his successor was averse to reforms. The Reichstag in 1523 and 1524 demanded that Pope and Emperor together should call a Church Council on German soil, and that a provisional settlement should be worked out in an assembly of Estates shortly to be held at Spires. This would have been a sort of National Council of the Church attended also by the temporal governments. But the Emperor vetoed this proposition.

At the Reichstag of Spires (1526) the lay princes wanted to reform the abuses in the Church without a Council, and a committee of lay and ecclesiastical rulers recommended reforms going far to meet the demands of the religious movement. The Emperor's commissioners then declared they were instructed not to consent to any innovation. The Reichstag resolved that until the Council every Estate should act as it believed consistent with

its responsibility to God and the Emperor. This resolution was a makeshift, but was later interpreted as recognizing the right of every territorial government to settle the religious question itself. The towns were the first to suggest this principle. Elector Johann of Saxony began inspections of the ecclesiastical conditions, called Visitations, which laid the ground for a territorial Church, and other rulers and many towns took similar steps.

The Regency was also occupied with important economic and financial plans. Public opinion had for a long time already been violently agitated by a great rise in prices which it ascribed to the monopolistic practices of great merchant companies, though this was only one of the causes. This question repeatedly occupied the Estates of the Empire. In 1522 the Reichstag of Nuremberg appointed a committee to investigate the matter, and a questionnaire was sent to the commercial towns. A bill was voted imposing radical restrictions on the size and the activities of the companies. Another project before the Reichstag proposed to raise at the frontiers of the empire a tax of four per cent on imports and exports, except on necessities of life, and to use the proceeds mainly to police the roads swarming with robbers. But soon the towns raised great opposition to these plans and succeeded in frustrating them. The towns were angered by the disregard shown by the princes to their position in the Reichstag, and, moreover, the Fuggers used their influence with the Emperor against the anti-capitalistic proposals.

The Regency was discredited by the failure of these plans, and by its general helplessness caused by the lack of executive organs. The Reichstag, in particular the towns, expressed in 1524 their want of confidence in it, and this was very welcome to the Emperor. The Regency practically came to an end, though it lingered on till the next visit of the Emperor to Germany in 1530.

CHURCH, GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL REFORM IN LUTHER'S THOUGHT

LUTHER'S fundamental ideas were laid down in a number of tracts written in the first years of the movement started by him. We shall survey here only some which have exercised particular influence on the public mind.

Luther's ninety-five theses on Indulgences (1517) already contained germs of his later teachings, and gave vent to bitter sarcasm against the evils in the church. Even staunch defenders of the old Church like Duke George of Saxony welcomed them, and Luther himself said that they spread in a fortnight over the whole of Germany. The tract on the Papacy in Rome (1520) contends that it is not a divine institution and the Church not an external organisation, but an invisible, purely spiritual community of believers. Germany's financial exploitation by the Pope is an absolutely intolerable robbery, and the German princes and nobles should put an end to it. In the same year Luther published his Sermon on Good Works, in which he rejected all so-called Good Works such as prayers, fasting, alms-giving, endowments, pilgrimages and ceremonies, if they were not the result of real faith, or a firm confidence in God's mercy based on Christ's merit. In that case, however, they were not necessary for salvation. He then discussed the ten Commandments and often stretched their meaning very widely. The first commandment, for example, was said to condemn also all striving for worldly honour and praise which was a most dangerous vice worse than manslaughter and adultery. The whole pagan literature of the Greeks and Romans is poisoned with this striving. The commandment 'Honour thy Father and Mother' is stretched so far by Luther as to mean also obedience to ecclesiastical and tem-

poral fathers, namely the lawful authorities in Church and State. Disobedience to them is one of the worst sins. Government is here identified with patriarchalism. This view of Luther's was certainly not that of the Gospels which taught obedience to the Emperor but did not enjoin regarding him as a father. Resistance is only permitted and even becomes a duty, if the authorities demand something contrary to God's commands. Luther recognises a right to revolt against the Pope, but not against a secular tyrant, against whose unjust orders only passive resistance is permitted. Suffering injustice makes the soul better, doing injustice corrupts it. The reason for the distinction between resistance to the Pope and resistance to a prince is, according to Luther, that the objects of secular government are very unimportant things before God, while the spiritual power is concerned with immensely valuable purposes. A Christian must therefore not tolerate that the spiritual power infringe its duties by a hair-breadth, but he must submit even to an unjust order of a secular government.

A few lines later, however, Luther seems to modify the thesis that a worldly government is concerned with very unimportant things only. Referring to the Old Testament he calls bad rulers the greatest evils, comparable to lions, wolves, serpents and dragons. They ruin not only the bodies and wealth of their peoples, but also their souls, and endanger their salvation. But Luther does not draw the conclusion that a revolt against such rulers is justified, but passes on to describe the duties of a good ruler. First of all he should not insist too much on his rights, which often leads to war, and even a just war is usually a misfortune. Besides, the most urgent task of any government, and particularly in Germany, is the suppression of intemperate eating and drinking, of luxuries and usury. Further, governments should defend the poor against financial exploitation by the Church, and should not tolerate brothels. As regards social relations Luther feels that there is no proper discipline in the world. Nobody wants to work. The master artisans are compelled to tolerate the laziness of their workers, and these cannot be tamed. The government should prescribe that they must obey under penalty of being excluded from employment everywhere. On the other hand the masters ought not to be too exacting towards their workers. Wives should obey their husbands, and these should not demand too much from them. Subjects must be submissive to their lords, while these should take great care to govern them well and to be useful and helpful to them. But if rulers,

as often happens, demand something contrary to God's commandments, then their subjects need not obey them. If a prince wants to wage an unjust war the people should by no means obey, or help him, because God has ordered us not to kill our neighbours, nor to do them wrong.

A true Christian spirit was, in Luther's eyes, the remedy for all evils. But who was to decide whether an order of the government was contrary to God's commands or endangered the souls of the subjects? Luther had a horror of mob rule, and feared that even a revolt springing from just grievances might lead to anarchy and chaos. But might not also a revolt against the Papacy, however justified, have unpredictable consequences? The religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have answered this question. The Sermon just surveyed obviously suggests that governments should draw the sword against the Papacy. The same wish was expressed in polemics against the theologian Prierias published at about the same time. Prierias had put forward the arguments for the primacy of the Pope. Luther answered very passionately, exhorting the Emperor, kings and princes to decide the question by the sword. His harangue culminates in the passage: 'Why do we not wash our hands in their blood?' It is characteristic that shortly afterward Luther wrote to his friend Spalatin, the Court preacher of Elector Frederick, that the fight for the Gospel should not be waged with violence and bloodshed, but with the word alone. If there should be a revolt against the clergy he would not be responsible as he had not advised use of the sword. This was obviously designed for Elector Frederick.

All these writings appeared before the Pope excommunicated Luther. A few months later the Pope and the cardinals concluded their long deliberations, and the Bull with the ban was issued. In anticipation of the coming excommunication Luther had written two further books of great importance. The first was his Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (1520). Within a week the first edition of four thousand copies was sold out, and the book became the most famous of Luther's writings. By nobility he understood not only the nobles proper, but also all the rulers, including the Emperor, the princes and the Free Towns. The book pleads for a General Council free from papal pressure and therefore to be convoked by the temporal authorities, not by the Pope. The priests are not above the laymen, who are also priests and have the same right to interpret the Scriptures, and to call a Council. Luther's main purpose in this book

is to describe in detail and condemn the financial exploitation of Germany by the Pope, and other abuses. The sum which annually flows from Germany to Rome is estimated by him at three hundred thousand florins. Rome has become a big market where religion and morality are being made the object of the most infamous barter. If we hang ordinary thieves and behead robbers why should we spare the Roman avarice, which is the greatest thief and robber on earth, and moreover in the sacred names of Christ and St. Peter? Luther then discusses how these abuses could be stopped by the governments. Further, he wants to reform the whole hierarchy of the Church, to suppress all its parasites, and restore the simple conditions of the time of the Apostles. Every parish should elect a learned and pious layman to the post of parson, pay him a salary, and permit him to marry or not, as he likes.

Luther further deals with the relations between Popes and Emperors, recalls how badly the old Emperors had been treated by Rome, and repudiates the story that the Popes had given the Empire to the Germans, who therefore owed them gratitude and obedience. The Popes had given them the mere name of an empire only. What empire the Germans really possessed came from God, and had nothing to do with the old Roman one. God gives and takes away empires, sometimes he gives them to villains. No Christian people therefore should consider it a great matter that God has given them an empire, and the Germans should not be arrogant on this account. They were not responsible for the acquisition of the Empire, or rather of its name, and they have paid far too high a price for it. It has cost them much blood and wealth and liberty through the Pope's cunning. They have the mere name of it, but the Pope has their treasure, honour, body, life and soul. But since God had arranged it so, the Germans should honestly govern the Empire as long as it pleased God, and not let themselves be exploited and cheated by the Pope.

No Christian should need to go begging. Every town was to provide for its poor; a guardian ought to look after them, and nobody should starve or freeze. If they wanted more, they should seize the plough and till the soil. The monasteries were not needed for this work. In discussing the reform of the universities Luther gives vent to his hatred of Aristotle. The teaching of the canon law should end. The Turks have not got it, and yet are said to have the best temporal government. But Luther also looks askance at the Roman law. The Bible and a good ruler, and the old law and customs of the land should be enough. In all schools

of every grade the Bible should be the principal study. In economic matters Luther rejects luxury, usury, and big business. Commerce is a danger to morals, and should be reduced, while agriculture should be increased. Luther also expresses the hope that the Last Judgment will come soon.

Hardly two months later Luther published a book on the Babylonian Captivity of the Church, written in Latin. The power of the Papacy was mainly founded on the abuse of the sacraments as instruments of domination and financial exploitation. Luther therefore criticises the theological arguments underlying the practice of the Church, and comes to the conclusion that of the seven sacraments three only, namely Baptism, Penance and the Lord's Supper, have been prescribed by God, though Penance could perhaps not be called a sacrament. All the others are not founded on the Bible, and even the real sacraments have been completely perverted and misused by the popes. The Church errs in teaching that a merely external act can secure the grace of God and salvation irrespective of faith. Luther lays all the stress on faith. In the case of baptism of infants not yet capable of faith, however, he regards that of the adult attendants as a substitute which would infuse faith also into the mind of the infant. In regard to the Lord's supper Luther rejects Transubstantiation and replaces it by Consubstantiation; he demands the cup for the laity and condemns the thesis that the priest makes a sacrifice to God. He also particularly combats the idea of a sacred character of the priest, and contends that the work of a peasant in the field or of a wife in the household is of the same, or perhaps a higher, value, in the eyes of God than the works of priests and monks.

Marriage is not a sacrament. Luther rejects numerous restrictions concerning marriages decreed in the Canon Law as unbiblical and cruel and thinks they have only been introduced by the Popes for financial reasons, to enable the Church to sell exemptions for a good price. He goes so far in his rejection of everything coming from the old Church that he even declares it 'a silly and godless cruelty' that a marriage is forbidden when the male had previously committed adultery with the woman, or had tried to bring about the death of her husband in order to marry her. Did not David, that holy man, marry Bathsheba after having committed both crimes against Uriah, her former husband? In cases of sexual impotence of the husband Luther wants to give the wife the right to have intercourse with another man, and wishes that the offspring should be heirs to the legal

husband. This was probably only meant in regard to marriages not consummated by the husband, which could also be annulled under the law of the Church. But as Luther does not express himself clearly about this point his adversaries interpreted his words in the sense that any woman not satisfied by her husband might seek another lover. Later, however, Luther modified his standpoint. He further points out that divorce was to him such an abomination that he would rather admit bigamy, which was legal under the Old Testament. But he does not dare to decide whether this was permitted in our time too. In the thirties, however, Luther and Melancthon were faced with the wishes of King Henry VIII and of Landgrave Philip of Hesse to take a second wife, while the first still lived, and reluctantly gave their consent.

Luther's opinions on the Mass expressed in this book were regarded as sacrilege by the adherents of the old Church, and his discussion of marriage also raised an outcry. Erasmus feared that henceforth a peaceful settlement of Luther's conflict with the Church would no longer be possible. Henry VIII wrote against Luther, and for this received from the Pope the title 'Defender of the Faith' which is still part of the official style of the British Sovereign and appears on every British coin.

Immediately afterward appeared the tract on the Freedom of a Christian. It begins with the paradox that a Christian was both a free master, in every respect, subject to nobody, and a devoted servant in every respect, subject to everyone. The solution of this riddle is that man has two natures, a spiritual and a bodily. The faithful is above all earthly things, he is free from their temptations, from his own selfish strivings, and the power of the devil. He is therefore also free from the need for commandments, and requires no good works for salvation. But his other nature makes him dependant on many things, on his body and his neighbours. Works are needed to discipline his body for the spiritual aim though they have no value for salvation. A true Christian is through his faith impelled to serve his neighbours with all his heart, voluntarily and without reward. A Christian does not live for himself but in Christ and for his neighbours. This is the true Christian freedom which makes the heart free from all sins, commandments and decrees, surpassing any other freedom.

The common man was then striving for a very different kind of freedom than that which Luther had in mind. But it was hardly to be expected that he should not understand Luther's

words as supporting his striving too. Had Luther not stressed that a Christian should do everything to serve his neighbour? Was this compatible with the toleration of social oppression?

In 1522 the revolutionary tension threatened to lead to violent outbreaks and Luther felt compelled to warn against them. He did so particularly in a small tract admonishing all Christians to abstain from uprisings and revolts. He later discussed questions of government in a sermon preached before Duke Johann of Saxony and his Court. The ideas of this sermon were shortly later published in much greater detail in a book 'On Temporal Government and how Far one Owes it Obedience' (1523). The book was dedicated to Duke Johann. Luther starts from Christ's admonition not to resist evil but to love one's enemies and do good to them. How does this agree with the duty of temporal government to use the sword against the wicked? But the latter is also ordained by God as is shown by many passages in the Scriptures. All power, says Paul, is from God, and must not be resisted. The solution of this apparent contradiction consists in the fact that mankind comprises two parts. If all men were true Christians no government would be needed since there would be no discord or injustice between them. But the world is wicked; among thousands there is hardly one real Christian and this makes temporal government necessary. Otherwise the wicked would destroy the others as the wolves the sheep. Further, a true Christian lives not for himself but for his neighbour. He has no need of temporal government for himself, but he must obey and support it in the interest of his fellow-men. As regards his own person he will gladly not resist evil, but as regards his neighbours he will ward it off—if necessary as hangman, judge or prince. These professions are just as useful as that of a craftsman and they have their own rules which only experts can judge.

Temporal power, however, has limits. It must neither punish too little nor too much, though it is better if it errs on the side of laxity. It is always better that a villain should be spared than that a good man should be killed, especially as the latter are rare. In particular the temporal power must restrict itself to temporal affairs, and not interfere with the soul, and prescribe what men should believe. God alone can rule over the soul, He alone knows all its thoughts and strivings. The Church herself has laid down that she did not judge about things hidden in the soul. Augustine has rightly said: Nobody must, or can, be forced to believe, and a proverb runs: 'Thought is free of toll.' Even if all the

Jews or heretics should be burned, none of them would thereby be refuted or converted. Many princes unfortunately do not act accordingly. Luther fiercely attacks the rulers who carry out the Imperial Edict of Worms against his teaching. He calls them tyrants, fools, madmen, knaves, blind and miserable people, and so on. The ecclesiastical princes neglect their spiritual tasks and torture the souls by unspeakable crimes. The temporal princes neglect their secular tasks and understand nothing but flaying and fleecing the people, squeezing money out of them, and hunting boars and wolves. But they disregard justice, loyalty and truth, and act worse than robbers and villains.

Luther also expresses other harsh opinions of princes in general, though his book was dedicated to a prince who greatly valued it. 'You shall know' he says, 'that from the beginning of the world a wise prince was always a rare bird, and a pious one still rarer. As a rule they are the greatest fools or the worst knaves on earth, and therefore one must always believe them capable of the worst, and expect little good from them, especially in divine matters concerning the salvation of souls. They are God's gaolers and executioners whom his wrath employs to punish the wicked and keep external peace.' God as a great lord, wants to have noble, high born and rich hangmen and jailers, and it pleases him that we address them as 'Your Grace', and fall on our knees before them. But they must not stretch their job too far and try to become shepherds of souls instead of hangmen. If a prince happens to be wise, pious and a Christian, it is a great miracle and a precious sign of God's grace. The world, however, is too bad and unworthy of many wise and pious princes.

Lastly Luther discusses also the way in which a prince should perform his tasks. A Christian prince must give up any idea of domination by force. Cursed and damned be those who are guided by the striving for their own pleasure, profit, honour, comfort and happiness, and not by love and care for others. Into the details of government Luther does not wish to go. But he warns rulers not to put too much trust in the written law and in their jurists, their counsellors and learned judges. Both this book, and the sermon out of which it grew, are full of distrust of lawyers and antipathy to them. They represented the principles of the written Roman law against the old customary law and in the courts and administration tended to replace the lay judges. Luther, like the preponderant public opinion of his time, was on the side of the old order, and against the nascent power of the bureaucrats who usually were also the pioneers of

absolutism and Reason of State. In the book discussed here Luther advises the princes not to let themselves be bound by the written law and their counsellor's opinions, but to take reason and fairness as their guides. But this does not mean an arbitrary regime. The prince must not regard his land and people as belonging to him, but rather think that he belongs to the land and people, and has to serve them, to defend them, and to care for their welfare. He should not follow his counsellors and swashbucklers if they incite and instigate him to begin a war in pursuance of some claim. He should rather forego even a just claim if it could be realised only by a great evil such as war. Warfare is only justified in defence against aggressors if all efforts to maintain peace have failed. The people must not support their prince in an obviously unjust war. In all affairs the guides should be love and the natural law which is above the written law.

On economic questions also Luther has expressed his opinions in many writings, in particular in his *Sermon on Usury* (1519) and his tract on *Commerce and Usury* (1524). His outlook was naturally determined not by economic aims but by religious and moral ones. The question how the greatest wealth could be produced at the lowest cost was quite alien to him, and he was in this field strongly under the influence of medieval traditions. He was agitated by the great rise in prices, the speculative accumulation of great fortunes, and the growth of reckless striving for gain. This development hit particularly hard those with fixed incomes such as preachers. When these denounced the new spirit or asked that they too should get higher wages, the farmers and tradesmen in their audience often protested or even used their influence to get rid of the pastors. The Bible and great Church Fathers had said that merchants could hardly be without sin. This was also Luther's view. He clung to the old principle of a just price covering expenses, risk and a modest living for the trader, and the profit of the latter should not be much greater than the wages of a labourer. The prices of the principal necessities should be fixed by the government. The importation of foreign luxuries was particularly odious to Luther. He further condemned any speculative buying and selling, and all commercial practices involving fraud or usury. The Canon Law had prohibited the taking of interest on loans, but already for a long time ways had been found of circumventing this ban. Dr. Johann Eck, Luther's principal opponent and a confidant of the Fuggers, in 1514 defended the thesis that five per cent interest was permitted among merchants though only by means

of a complicated legal transaction. Luther's attitude wavered between an intransigent condemnation of all interest, and the view that there were cases in which a moderate rate of interest might be permitted. His hatred of profiteering induced him to declare that the plundering of travelling merchants by highwaymen was a just punishment of God. The robbers were even the lesser villains since they plundered only once or twice in a year and only one or two merchants, while the merchants were every day plundering the whole world.

In spite of his anti-capitalism Luther was not a friend of communism. The patriarchs and even Christ possessed property, he argues, and the Apostles did not make their communism compulsory. Among bad men the community of goods might have evil consequences. For this reason it was later abandoned in Jerusalem, and not introduced anywhere else. If agitators referred to the words of the Bible that all things had been created for all men Luther replied that the Old Testament was not binding for Christians. Yet Luther himself often made use of precepts from the Old Testament. He stressed for instance that God had told Adam that he should eat his bread in the sweat of his brow. Man was born to work hard all his life (Gen 3, 19) and from morning to evening (Ps. 104, 23). For this reason all holidays were to be abolished except Sundays.

The best occupation was in Luther's eyes agriculture, while commerce of a speculative kind was the worst. But he also judged favourably of handicrafts. A shoemaker, smith or peasant had an office ordained by God just like a priest or magistrate, and it was not inferior to any other. Luther's economic writings further set forth his ideas about the secularisation of monasteries and their lands and Church property in general. He wanted to secularise only as much as was wanted for the maintenance of churches and schools, for the care of the poor and other welfare purposes. The monks were to receive a pension or a grant for transferring to some other occupation. Old and infirm poor should be maintained at the public expense; able-bodied poor should be offered work; children should get instruction. Workers wanting capital to establish themselves ought to receive loans.

Many other preachers and writers of the time have on these problems put forward the same or similar views, partly under Luther's direct influence, partly under that of the Spirit of the Age. Common to all is the absolute predominance of the religious and moral outlook. If they lay great stress upon the duty of strenuous work they do not regard it as a means to acquire

wealth but as a command of God. But their work must also help others and further general welfare. Wenceslaus Linck, a former Augustinian monk and close friend of Luther's, wrote a tract (1523) in which he emphasized this point, and concluded that in consequence the peasants and labourers were as a rule on a higher level of perfection than the clergy, and that the command to work implied all the other commands of God. He sharply criticised the godless and lazy who live on the blood and sweat of others. The life of the monks is condemned, and begging for alms discredited.

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THE SPREADING OF LUTHER'S TEACHINGS

THE movement initiated by Luther soon made rapid progress. The most enthusiastic propagandists of the new gospel were former monks and priests, who themselves had had a vivid experience of the corruption in the Church, who had the theological knowledge to understand the significance of Luther's teachings and understood how to speak to the people. The Reformation was in its first phase largely a revolt within the Church, an uprising of the lower and younger section of the clergy, and of the clerical proletariat. Students too, who had heard Luther's lectures at Wittenberg showed great zeal. The number of monks who left their Order was so great that many monasteries became empty, and were taken over by towns or princes. It was to a great extent the best elements who joined the movement, those actuated by religious and moral zeal and versed in learning. Among the younger priests Erasmus' Christian Humanism had many followers, and critics of Erasmus used to say that he had laid the eggs which Luther had hatched out. Numerous clerics, however, had formerly never studied the Scriptures in the original. Luther now opened to many of them and the laity the way to the Bible itself and they were deeply shaken by the power of its spirit and its words.

The first edition of Luther's translation of the New Testament was printed in five thousand copies, and was immediately sold out, and reprinted. In the higher ranks of the clergy, too, a considerable section was sympathetic to a reform of the Church. At that time the full consequences of Luther's revolt could not yet be foreseen. Many reformers and sympathizers with the movement long believed that a schism in the Church could be

avoided, and that a compromise between the old and the new faith would be achieved. It was also widely hoped that the Emperor would at last be won for the cause of the Reform. All these factors induced quite a number of bishops and other high ecclesiastics to have sympathy for the new ideas. Christian humanism had made a great impression upon them and their counsellors. Others remained at least neutral. They were either sitting on the fence, and had an eye on the rich estates of the Church which they might be able to appropriate if the course of events created a favourable situation or they were afraid of the people supporting the religious movement. Many of the great ecclesiastics were further too worldly and too little interested in religion to show much zeal in combating the movement against the Papacy. Luther's doctrines won also many followers among the teachers of theology at the universities. Lastly there were also many monks, nuns and others who merely wanted to marry, or had some other non-religious reason to leave the clerical profession.

The old Church was affected by these desertions in a double way. On the one hand her adversaries gained an elite of ardent propagandists, on the other few were left who were willing or able to fight for her with energy and efficiency. The cause of the Papacy had its defenders, but most of the clergy who remained on its side were either lukewarm, or little qualified. The ranks of the old Church were, moreover, split by many rivalries.

As mentioned already the beginning of the Reformation movement was closely connected with the jealousy between the Dominicans and the Augustinians. Moreover, there was a clerical type which was hated by all other sections of the German clergy, namely the papal Courtesan—a clergyman enjoying the favour of the Court of Rome, who utilised this patronage to collect rich prebends in Germany and to spend the returns on an idle and luxurious life, for the duties connected with the prebends they often hired curates who were miserably paid. Wimpfeling knew a cleric who had twenty-four prebends, among them eight posts as a canon, without doing any work himself. Capito even maintained that a Canon Jacob of Strassburg had accumulated one hundred prebends and used them to carry on a profitable trade with them. The Courtesans, moreover, had a very bad reputation for immorality and impiety. When Luther visited Rome he was horrified by their blasphemous talk.

With the progress of the movement ever more laymen too joined it who felt called to propagate the true faith. The old

Church had given them no similar opportunity. Now not only men of a higher education but also simple artisans and peasants could raise their voices. The Gospel, they said, was not given only to the learned theologians. Were not the Apostles men from the people? The Church was also the greatest feudal lord and the richest capitalist and this aroused hostile feelings which might lead to a social revolution. Luther himself in 1529 pointed out in a letter that a defection from the Church was already going on before he began his work. But without him, he said, it would have become a violent revolution such as Thomas Muenzer intended, or else Erasmus' Epicureanism would have become general and would have sapped the roots of religion.

At first Luther wrote in Latin for theologians and the educated, but he soon began to write in German for the masses. He set them the aim of Christain Freedom, and this word had an effect surpassing all expectations. But it was widely understood in a quite different sense than that which Luther had had in mind. When this became evident many humanists and members of the upper classes began to withdraw from Luther's movement. But his following among the lower classes was constantly growing. Many preachers in urban and rural parishes spread his teachings, and others wandered from one place to another preaching in his spirit, in churches and in the open. Religious subjects were discussed everywhere, in inns and pot-houses, in markets and public baths. Peasants and artisans formed circles to read the Bible in common, and many of them soon showed an astounding knowledge and understanding of its text. Luther's tracts, often written in a language recalling the pathos of the prophets, also made a tremendous impression. A very important fact was that the great majority of the printers and publishers were on the side of the Reformation. The Legate Aleander pointed out that the most dangerous propagandists were scholars, monks and printers. Countless popular pamphlets and leaflets flooded Germany. In the first seven years of Luther's public work, from 1516 to 1524, the number of publications printed in German increased ninefold, and soon far exceeded those in Latin. Luther's own writings were, from 1517 to 1525, printed in almost two thousand editions while the defenders of the old order complained that they could not find a publisher for their productions. The pamphlets and leaflets for the people were often illustrated by woodcuts, and many of the best artists made them. The publishers employed numerous colporteurs who sold the prints

at fairs, popular festivals and wherever people assembled in large numbers.

Most of the popular booklets show considerable skill in speaking to the masses of the people. Their language is that of the common man, and they appeal to his interests. Favourite forms of literary presentations were dramatic dialogues or discussions between several persons, or personal letters. They often describe how the common man sees through the cunning perversion of the Gospel by the papists, and the foul sanctimoniousness of the monks. Luther himself had in his reply to the Bull of excommunication said: 'Poor peasants and children now understand Christ better than the Pope, bishops and scholars.' In one of the pamphlets a young student writes from Wittenberg to his parents, who are peasants in Swabia. He conveys to them Luther's teachings and stresses that work in the fields and in the household and serving the poor neighbour are the only good works which please God, not life in a monastery. A further booklet lets a peasant discuss the questions of religion with his son. Another pamphlet, written by Balthasar Stauberger, gives a dialogue between St. Peter and a peasant. St. Peter says that the peasant with his flail does a work more agreeable to God than those who everyday babble prayers in church without any real piety. The poor peasants know more of God's word than the clergy. Another tract by the same author gives a conversation between a prior, a lay brother and a beggar. Very similar arguments are used in a printed sermon by the Franciscan Johann Voit. It is surprising that we find in another tract a peasant criticising the lukewarm attitude of Erasmus to the Reformation. Pastor Michael Kramer was the author of a discussion between a traveller and a Jew who meet in an inn. Later the inn-keeper and his servant also take part. Still more interesting is another dialogue between a pastor and a Rabbi. The popular prejudice against the Jews is expressed, but on the whole the Jews are described in a friendly way obviously under the influence of Luther's first tract on the Jews of 1523. Other booklets relate discussions between a monk and a peasant, the Pope and the cardinals, a papist and an evangelical layman, a priest and a weaver, a parson and a reeve, a Courtesan and a peasant, between two peasants, between two women etc. The devil plays a great rôle, usually as the ally of the Church, either as the Pope's servant or as his lord. Heinrich of Kettenbach, a former friar, describes how Christ comes to Germany but soon finds himself so scorned by the papists that he leaves again. Nicholas Manuel made a Shrovetide-

play on the same subject. In another tract a monk comes to the gate of heaven, and is rude to St. Peter who had not opened at once. But St. Peter orders him first to sleep himself sober. Then he asks him about his merits, and the monk tells a great deal about his fasting. St. Peter wonders that he nevertheless looks so fat, and demands a knife to open his stomach. Instantly come out wine, chicken, venison, fish and plenty of delicacies. He is thereupon sent to Hell. A further pamphlet compares the clergy with wolves and elaborates this in detail, distinguishing many sorts of wolves.

The illustrations of these tracts are often very forceful. A series of twenty-six wood-cuts, probably by Cranach or one of his pupils, shows Christ's passion in contrast with the life of the Pope. On one side, for example, Christ is depicted wearing the crown of thorns, on the other the Pope with his triple crown of gold. On one side Christ washes the feet of the poor, on the other the Pope lets his feet be kissed by emperors and kings. And so on. This book had in five years more than ten editions. Anti-papal cartoons were sold in great numbers, they were posted on walls and houses, and even used on packs of cards.

Some of the pamphlets became particularly popular, and were reprinted. Of the tract entitled *Karsthans* (1521) ten different editions still exist. The title means Jack with his hoe, or the simple peasant. The author probably was the learned humanist Joachim von Watt, mayor of St. Gallen. *Karsthans* is strongly anti-popish, though not yet fully Lutheran. But his son, a student takes the side of the Pope. Thomas Murner, one of Luther's principal adversaries appears and *Karsthans* makes him the butt of his rustic humour. Then Luther himself knocks at the door and Murner flees. The peasant tells Luther to write in German and to trust in the common people. In that case they would save him from the power of the Pope by their strong fists, swords, harness, halberds and good cannons. Luther, however, declines this help, recommends patience and humility, and leaves. Father and son then continue the controversy. The father is for armed self-help, the son against it. At last the commonsense of the peasant defeats the arguments of his learned son.

The satire made such a stir that several supporters of the movement wrote and preached under the name of *Karsthans*. Many revolutionary intellectuals idealised the common man and posed in his garb. The word came to designate the enemies of

popery among the common people. But in the Peasant War the insurgents made no use of it.

Some pamphlets show how bitter was the antagonism of the parish priests to the monks and the Courtesans. The latter much reduced the resources upon which the priests depended for their living. In a dialogue a knight outlawed for his robberies meets a monk and a Courtesan and discusses with them which of them is the worst robber. At last they ask the Courtesan to decide and he cynically declares that he and all other clergymen had deserved to be hanged on the highest gallows that could be found. The knight ends the talk by stating that he was indeed a great villain, the Courtesan a still greater one and the monk the greatest of all.

A publication which had great influence on public opinion and was used in elaborating the programmes of the Peasant War was the so-called *Reformation of Emperor Frederick III*. Its model obviously was the XVth century pamphlet known as *Reformation of Emperor Sigismund* which at that time was several times reprinted. But its outlook was strongly influenced by Luther's ideas and the reforms proposed are much less radical than those demanded in the older tract. It is very probable that the pamphlet was written by one of the knights following the lead of Hutten and Sickingen. Criticism is mainly directed against the clergy, the princes, the jurists and the big merchants. It demands that the poor men shall not be oppressed and that all towns and other communes shall have freedom and proper government without regard to ancient privileges, customs or rank, but in accordance with the principles of Christian freedom, human nature, and common sense as interpreted by the sense of justice and natural reason of all human beings. The operating capital of each merchant shall be restricted to ten thousand gulden. If he possesses a larger capital he must loan it to the government at four per cent and the latter shall in turn loan it to the poor at five per cent. Nothing is said, however, about serfdom.

Hymns which Luther and some of his disciples wrote and which were sung in public made a great impression on the popular mind. In Magdeburg a weaver stood on a square and sang one of Luther's hymns, offering copies for sale. The burgo-master had him arrested, but the audience protested and a revolt broke out which ended with the victory of the Lutheran party and the overthrow of the Catholic Town Council. In Brunswick

and many other towns, too, the new songs played a great role in the risings against the old Church.

Luther's opponents comprised also able writers but for a considerable time they were less numerous than his literary supporters and were swimming against the tide. Many of them had fought against corruption and abuses in the Church, or even welcomed Luther's first steps for a reformation, but later turned against him. His most influential adversary was Johann Eck, who had a great share in bringing about his excommunication. A poignant satire against him was published under the title *The Planed-off Eck*. (The word Eck could also mean corner-edge or projection). Among the popular writers the most witty and pungent was the Franciscan Thomas Murner, born in 1475 in Strassburg. He began his career as a typical humanist, studied at many universities many branches of learning, though none very profoundly, was crowned a poet by the Emperor and became a preacher, pamphleteer on topical questions, satirist and translator. The range of his literary activities was astounding, but he was successful mainly as a satirist. His humour has been compared to that of Rabelais and as a moralist he took Brandt as his model. Murner was at first a sharp critic of the abuses in the Church, and a most popular preacher. He predicted that the corruption of the Church and the general demoralisation of all classes would lead to a revolution in which the clergy and the nobles would be slain. But he combated Luther from the beginning and, according to his own statement, wrote no less than thirty-two tracts against him. Not all of them were however, published because it was difficult to find a publisher for Catholic writings against Luther. His strongest attack was his satire *Of the Great Lutheran Fool* (1522) which was also a parody on Eberlin's *Fifteen Confederates*. But the Strassburg authorities prevented publication by confiscating the book. In the same year he wrote a long and moving poem lamenting the ruin of Christianity. He gave it to a poor blind man who wandered about over a wide area singing it on public squares. Murner also translated Henry VIII's tract against Luther and came to England where the King entertained him and presented him with a hundred pounds. When Strassburg adopted the new faith Murner emigrated to the Catholic part of Switzerland and lived in Lucerne from whence he continued to fight for the Catholic cause. But in the end he returned to his homeland, Alsace, where he died in 1537.

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EBERLIN'S PLAN FOR A DEMOCRATIC WELFARE STATE

A REMARKABLE plan for a new society was elaborated by Johann Eberlin. He was born between 1465 and 1470 at Guenzburg in Wurttemberg, and was, therefore, considerably older than Luther. He studied at the University of Basle, and became a Franciscan monk and a very popular preacher and writer. In 1521 he had to leave his monastery in Ulm because of his leaning to Luther's teaching. He went to Wittenberg where at first he was attracted by Karlstadt, but later turned to Luther. Under his influence he moderated his social radicalism. Unlike Luther, however, he cared little for the mysteries of theology. His religion was a simple piety without dogmas, guided by the example of Jesus, the friend of all the poor and oppressed. The Sermon on the Mount was the essence of his creed and he wanted that it should be read to the people every Sunday. Moreover, hard labour seemed to him also a service to God, and the common man, in particular the peasants, appeared to him more capable of understanding God's will, and of creating a better world, than the highly educated. His popular writings often claim to be the voice of the people by introducing common men discussing the great questions of the day. Yet Eberlin strongly deprecated any revolt and adopted Paul's doctrine that men should not resist the God-ordained authorities, but should patiently bear even their unjust actions. Following Luther he denied free will and believed that human nature was fundamentally rotten. But unlike Luther he became in his later life increasingly tolerant, even towards the old Church, and he disapproved of violent attacks on her. He abhorred the growing divisions between Christians, and deplored the fact that the new faith was already splitting into several

schools bitterly fighting one another. In his later years Eberlin wandered about as an evangelist, stayed some time at the court of a small ruler, but at last became preacher in a village where he died in 1532.

Eberlin's national feeling induced him to regard Luther and Hutten as leaders in the fight for emancipation from the Roman yoke, and for the old Germanic virtues of probity, loyalty and simplicity. As a Swabian he was proud of the exploits of the Hohenstaufens in their struggles with the popes, and hoped that Charles V would follow the example of Frederick II who wanted to reduce the Pope to the position of a mere bishop of Italy and to restore the rule of the Empire over all the Italian territories. A war against the Pope was the only one which Eberlin would then have approved and in which, as he said, the Germans would be willing to shed their blood. But he rejected all other wars which appeared to him as civic strife. In particular he was against a war with France in which the Germans had no interest at all. The French, however, indulge too much in luxury and fashions and the German lansquenets serving in the French army pick up their customs, and later bring them to Germany too. The Italians appear to Eberlin as false and disloyal. He hopes that a purified Germany will also bring a pure religion to all peoples, mainly through the art of printing invented by Germans. Eberlin was also the first who translated Tacitus' *Germania* into German.

His ideas on democratic and social reforms were put forward mainly in the work *The Fifteen Confederates* (1521) relating the opinions of fifteen men from the people who have founded a confederacy to explore the causes of social distress, to propose reforms and thereby to prevent a revolution. The grievances concerning the Church take up most of the space and need not be surveyed here as they are the same as were discussed by all the followers of Luther, though Eberlin often formulates them in an original and poignant way. The Germans were in his view impoverished by the exactions of the Papacy which drained their country of silver and gold so that only bad money was left there and prices were soaring. May the Emperor listen to Luther and Hutten and take Erasmus as confessor or possibly Luther or Karlstadt. The tenth and eleventh confederates describe the laws which had recently been proposed for a plebiscite in the country Wolfaria, which name means 'the State of general welfare'. Eberlin's ideas are here influenced by the old pamphlet *Reformation of the Emperor Sigismond*, and by Thomas More's *Utopia* which had first appeared in 1516 in the Netherlands and was

much reprinted on the continent. In England it first came out thirty years after Eberlin's work. In the following survey we shall sometimes add points from Eberlin's other writings which supplement his plans for Wolfaria or make alternative proposals.

The commonwealth described is a federation of democratic communities. The lowest unit is the village, a number of which form a district, ten districts make a township and ten townships a territory. Each of these units is self-governing, has a representative council and elects a nobleman as its chairman. These nobles retain their titles but are elected officials of the people, paid by the community according to the importance of their work. They give up their feudal courts, must not hold any other office and shall have no power to do anything without the help and advice of the assembly of the people. Every man shall be entitled to vote. The princes at the head of the territories elect one of themselves to be king. He shall not, however, be permitted to do anything without the advice of the princes. The nobles must sustain themselves by farming. An assembly of village mayors and representative yeomen shall consider complaints of their tenants. All councils are to consist of as many nobles as peasants. This precaution should obviously hinder the voters from electing peasants only, and should secure the co-operation of the better-educated knights. Priests are excluded from sitting in any council. All the officials are ordered by the constitution to show the greatest consideration to the poor.

Eberlin in this plan obviously accepted Hutten's idea of giving the knights a leading part in public affairs but he wanted to have them controlled by the people. He seems not to have had much trust in the towns which were actuated by a strong local egoism and exploited and despised the peasants. Eberlin especially detested the jurists, both those in the service of the princes and the advocates. In Wolfaria there were to be no jurists or advocates and the Roman and Canon laws were to be declared null and void. The common law should be known to all and those unable to speak for themselves might ask a fellow-citizen to appear for them before the court.

The nobles had obligations also as military leaders. War was not to be declared without the advice of the princes who, we must remember, were elected officials of the people. No war must be waged for territorial aggrandisement. Farmers and priests should not be required to enlist in the army. Women and children must be protected and the burning of houses or robbing of churches is banned. Agriculture should not be hindered by war.

When war is declared each manor must send along a priest with the troops and, when a battle begins, the priests must come to the front, fall on their knees and pray for a merciful peace.

Detailed rules regulate church life. Pastors are in Wolfaria elected by the people and elect the bishops but lay-preachers too are admitted. The monks must doff their cowls and work. The monasteries are to be turned into hospitals, homes for the old and poor and dwellings for those who have no lodging. Tithes shall be abolished or used for the poor. Eberlin recognises five sacraments, but marriage is not among them. The sending of money to Rome and many abuses of the Roman Church are prohibited. No one shall be considered a heretic who upholds the Gospel as commonly interpreted in the country. Unbelievers, Jews and Heathen, wishing to live among the people shall not be ill-treated but shall be received as kindly as any citizen. Nevertheless they shall not be accorded civic honours and shall not revile the laws and religion of the country.

Many other rules deal with questions of law and morality. Man should not punish more severely than God has allowed, and no punishment therefore shall exceed the penalties sanctioned by Moses. This rule bars many cruel punishments usual at that time and Eberlin, moreover, fixes some penalties which were milder than those in use. He proposes for example a year's hard labour for a thief, or lifelong forced labour for a highwayman. Perjurers should be beaten with rods and men who took interest on a loan whipped with reeds. But murderers and adulterers have forfeited their lives. People seducing others to heavy drinking shall be drowned. Idleness shall be prohibited under severe penalties and considered a public disgrace. Those who have plenty and yet do not aid their neighbours must be publicly punished as also people who do not pay their debts. Gambling, loose revelry, indecent dresses, wasteful spending, luxury, certain entertainments, and so on, are either forbidden or restricted in a puritanical spirit, though not with excessive severity. Eberlin even wishes that there should be public dances and pastimes, but limited in time and enjoyed in a decent and inexpensive way. All men must wear long beards and short, unbraided hair. Thomas Muentzer, too, demanded that a Christian man must wear a beard, referring to 3 Mos. 19, 27 and Judg. 13. A contemporary pamphlet replied that in this case a he-goat would be the best Christian.

The most honourable occupations are those of the farmer and the blacksmith. There must not be any useless trade and in order

to prevent unemployment not too many craftsmen. If there are unemployed workers they shall receive assistance and do work for the community. Wood, game, wild fowl and fish shall be common to all. At the time of the Peasant Rebellion this was an important point in the demands of the peasants. In the entire Empire there shall be only one coinage of legal weight and value. Monopoly and Capitalism (*Fuggerei*) shall be suppressed and the growth of commercial companies restricted. Eberlin regards commerce as endangering morality. Everybody wants to make money without much work. He also attacks the printers and publishers for bringing out whatever promises a profit. Unnecessary foreign imports are to be forbidden, and low prices for bread and wine fixed. Relations between masters and servants are regulated. A master must also care for a sick servant for a period of two months without a charge.

No very expensive houses shall be built except those for public use such as town halls, baths, schools and places of amusement. The cities shall build wide streets, and care for the health of their citizens. A skilled physician shall be employed by them and shall treat all patients gratis.

All children, male and female, shall be sent to school at the expense of the community. They shall learn German and Latin, and also a little Greek and Hebrew. Further they shall be instructed in the Gospels and the Epistles of St. Paul, and in music, arithmetic, natural science and simple remedies against common sicknesses. At eight years a child shall either be taught a trade or be destined for higher studies. A wayfarer possessing a passport from his lord shall be treated kindly and with respect, and, if he has no means, shall be given hospitality in a public institution. Begging is forbidden but persons needing charity and having with them a document to that effect shall be assisted, partly from collections in the churches, partly from the municipal treasury.

Wolfaria exhibits the striving for almost all the great political and social ideals of the subsequent four centuries, and many of its demands have been realised in quite recent times only. Eberlin tried to combine the true spirit of Christ with a political and social order based on Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. We must believe him if he asserts that these demands came from the people. In a vague form they were certainly very widely spread; but in the then conditions of Germany nobody could show a practical way towards their fulfilment. The bold Franciscan was certainly right in rejecting a forceful revolution. The outcome of the Peasant War fully confirmed this attitude. Eberlin further

showed remarkable political understanding when he postulated the co-operation of classes, and, in particular, that of the nobility. English history shows that this co-operation under the leadership of the aristocracy was, indeed, the best way of gradually reaching the goal. But this approach presupposed a sufficient integration of the different social elements in a great community which only a strong central power could achieve.

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THE RISE OF RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL RADICALISM

ALL the reformers proclaimed as principle the return to the unadulterated word of the Scriptures and the conditions of the early Church. Soon, however, opinions began to diverge regarding the validity of certain parts of the Bible, in particular the laws in the Old Testament, or about the interpretation of obscure or contradictory passages. Were they to be understood literally, or in a wider sense? An inspiration from God appeared to be the key, and the old Church believed that it had been given to great saints of the past most of whom were also thinkers and scholars of high rank. Not only their interpretation of the Scriptures, but also their traditions in other matters were therefore accepted as authentic and binding. The reformers, however, combated tradition, claiming that every Christian was able to understand the Bible. In reality, however, they all believed themselves to be inspired by God, and regarded their own interpretation as the only true one, though it was not seldom a rather forced one. The rejection of the authority of the Church fathers, moreover, opened the road also to numerous unlearned people who could not read the Scriptures in the original languages, and did not possess the scholarship needed. Many of these now claimed to be inspired, and some had visions and dreams which they believed to be messages from God. There were further men of learning who believed in their own inspiration, and attributed more weight to this inner voice than to the words of the Bible. The feeling of receiving orders from God naturally gave rise to unlimited self-consciousness, and stimulated religious and social radicalism.

Luther's thought combined radicalism and conservatism,

spiritualism and literalism, intransigence and opportunism. He further knew that the people clung to many impressive rites of the old Church and he feared that their precipitate abolition might arouse sharp resistance. The new faith certainly required new forms of worship, but the transition should be gradual and almost imperceptible. The growth of a new spirit, moreover, seemed to him more important than outward forms.

During Luther's retirement at the Wartburg a wave of radicalism swept Wittenberg. The principal leaders of the masses were his colleague Professor Andreas Bodenstein, usually called Karlstadt, who was a prominent theologian, and the former monk Gabriel Zwilling, a fiery speaker. Celibacy was abolished, many monks left their monastery and married: altars, crucifixes, pictures and statues of saints were removed or destroyed, and the Mass was replaced by a new rite with the cup for the laity. The town council enacted puritanical measures against loose living, reformed the care for the poor, and planned to give loans without interest to artisans. The unrest was increased by the appearance of a group of sectarians, who had been expelled from Zwickau because they had planned a revolt. They called themselves prophets and apostles and claimed to receive revelation from God which they set above the words of the Bible. The baptising of infants was rejected by them and learning was regarded as harmful. The Godless, they said, would all be killed. Most of them were workers and their leader was Nicholas Storch, a clothmaker, who asserted that the Archangel Gabriel had told him: 'You shall sit on my throne.' In Zwickau this sect had had as their preacher Thomas Muentzer who had also been compelled to leave and had gone to Prague. Later he came to Wittenberg but arrived too late to exercise influence. Muentzer was a learned theologian, a fanatical demagogue and revolutionary communist. He also rejected learning as harmful to the soul. On this point Professor Karlstadt agreed with him. He renounced his title of doctor, and refused to promote students to degrees since Christ had declined to be called Rabbi. He further told his students to go home, to become peasants and to eat their bread in the sweat of their brow as God had ordained. One of his most ardent disciples, Georg Mohr, the Rector of the municipal school, urged the parents to take their children away from school. He closed it down and threw the textbooks out of the window. Karlstadt was convinced that the simple man was better fitted to understand the Bible than the learned theologians. His mind showed a mixture of rational criticism with mystical spiritualism and

moral puritanism. He wanted a spiritual interpretation of the Scriptures and a congregational constitution of the Church with lay preachers, and he laid the main stress upon works of love and care for one's neighbour. Both Luther and Melanchthon, however, had a very unfavourable opinion of his character.

In Luther's absence nobody had the authority to resist the extravagances of the radicals. Duke Frederick did not wish to interfere in questions of religion. Melanchthon was helpless and even impressed by the enthusiasm of the prophets. Similar tumults occurred also in other places. Luther feared that, if the radicals had their way, chaos would be the result, and he, as the originator of the religious movement, would be held responsible. He returned to Wittenberg and soon mastered the situation. It was not the innovations as such which he rejected but the way in which they had been effected. In his sermons he stressed that the outward ceremonies did not matter but only faith and love. The old rites were largely restored.

Karlstadt left Wittenberg and settled in Orlamuende where he lived like a peasant and became very popular. In numerous tracts he dissented more and more from Luther. He showed himself greatly influenced by the old German mystics and put the voice of the spirit above the letter of the Bible. To him love was the root of faith, while to Luther love was its result. The long latent tension between the two men became open enmity. Karlstadt rejected also the two sacraments which Luther still recognized, declared them to be mere ceremonies, unnecessary for salvation, and made frivolous remarks about them. Through Luther's influence he was expelled from Saxony. At the beginning of the Peasants' War he wanted to serve the peasants as a preacher. But they distrusted and threatened him. His experience in the war threw him into utter despair, and he implored Luther for help. He had to recant, and was permitted to return to Saxony where he again lived as a peasant. But after a few years he became a backslider and had to flee from Saxony to escape arrest. He first joined the Anabaptist Melchior Hoffmann and later went to Switzerland where he worked with the Zwinglians. He died in 1541.

Karlstadt did much to pave the way for the rise of radicalism. His teachings tended to undermine fundamentals of traditional Christianity. Luther saw in his influence the hand of the Devil. 'There are almost as many sects and beliefs,' he wrote, 'as brains. Every bumpkin, however uncouth, thinks that his dreams and fancies come from the Holy Spirit and that he is a prophet.'

Thomas Muentzer became in 1523 preacher in the small town Allstedt, where he introduced Church service in German, obtained great influence, and founded a League of the Elect as an organ for his revolutionary plans. His thought combined mystical and chiliastic speculations with the firm belief in his inner voice, by which God gave him orders superseding every other authority, even the Bible. Apart from these divine commands, the precepts of the Scriptures had to be carried out literally. The Old Testament impressed him much more than the Gospels, particularly its warlike heroes and scenes of bloodshed such as the deed of the prophet Elijah who slaughtered 840 priests of Baal with his own hand. In contrast to Luther's belief that the Gospels had largely superseded the Old Testament, he often gave priority to the latter. Had not God commanded the merciless extermination of the godless (5 Moses 7)? Christ's word that we should love our enemies could not change this command. The idea that God demanded the utter destruction of the godless obtained paramount importance in Muentzer's thought. He made no secret of his striving for a bloody revolution which was to push the mighty from their thrones and put the low and uncouth in their place. His aim was a communist regime throughout the world. At first, however, Muentzer hoped to convert his own rulers, the princes of Saxony, to his beliefs, but since the attempt failed he fiercely attacked them, and denounced Luther as a servile creature and enemy of the people heaping the worst abuse upon him. Muentzer further demanded the mortification of the flesh, contrary to Luther's teaching. Man could only become a true Christian through much suffering and the suppression of his animal nature. He became a fore-runner of puritanism. Expelled from Saxony, Muentzer wandered about, everywhere engaged in revolutionary propaganda. At the outbreak of the Peasants' War he journeyed through Swabia preaching the liberation of Israel and the establishment of a celestial empire on earth, and later became the leader of the peasants in Thuringia.

Muentzer exercised great influence on the mind of the masses and also on many prominent men seeking for the kingdom of God. Many other prophets emerged driven by their inner voice. Illiteracy was often regarded as a special qualification. Storch, the leader of the Zwickau prophets, boasted that he could neither read nor write. It was significant that educated people preached to the masses, posing as illiterate peasants. One of them called himself 'the peasant of Woehrd', but was in reality a Swabian ex-priest. Another who was a physician, adopted the name Karsthans

and preached that the clergy should be exterminated.

The danger of violent uprisings under the flag of religion caused Luther the greatest apprehension and he published several writings against Karlstadt, Muentzer and similar prophets. Karlstadt, however, denied any association with Muentzer, though he had been for a short time in secret correspondence with him. Actually he was not inspired by Muentzer's vision of a social revolution. But both Karlstadt and Muentzer justified iconoclasm and violence against the godless on the authority of the Old Testament. Karlstadt pointed out that God had ordered there the extinction of whole cities indulging in idolatry.

Luther's most important attack on Karlstadt was his book *Against the Heavenly Prophets on Images and the Sacrament* (1524-25). He defended against them his doctrine of Justification by Faith and rejected their stressing of external works, the mortification of the flesh, the destruction of images and the rousing of the populace to acts of violence. The Old Testament had been superseded by the Gospel and was valid only as far as it agreed with the Natural Law existing in the hearts of all men. Karlstadt had also laid great stress on keeping the Sabbath, but Luther replied that this too was no longer valid. If we still observed Sunday this was not in obedience to Moses, but in order to have a quiet time for rest and for hearing the word of God. The ceremonies rejected by Karlstadt did not matter. Luther confessed that he would even be inclined to consent to their abolition but did not do so just as a sign of protest and defiance against the visionaries and their attempt to murder the spirit and to stamp out liberty. If they rejected certain external acts, they introduced a great many others. But though Luther stressed that only the state of the heart and the conscience really mattered he yet defended also the necessity for external forms, such as the Sacraments. He stated the doctrines of the Real Presence and Ubiquity which later were to play so great a role in the controversies between different schools of Protestants and he rebutted Karlstadt's appeal to reason with the words that 'reason was the devil's whore who could do nothing but revile and abuse whatever God spoke or did.' If reason was to prevail not a single article of faith would persist, not even the belief that Christ was God.

While Luther was engaged in combating the growth of religious radicalism in Northern Germany a development took place in Switzerland which was to cause a lasting split in the evangelical movement. It was the work of Ulrich Zwingli, at that time the

leading spirit in the Church of Zurich. Zwingli had been much more influenced by Humanism than Luther was. He had studied at the Universities of Vienna and Basle which then were centres of Humanism, and he maintained that he owed more to Erasmus and other Humanists than to Luther. Actually he had been more influenced by Luther's writings than he realised or was willing to admit. Like other Humanists he regarded the great thinkers of classical antiquity as no less holy men than the Apostles. Zwingli further differed from Luther by his great interest in practical politics. As a field preacher with the Swiss troops in the Italian wars he had become convinced of the great evils inherent in the fact that many Swiss were serving as mercenaries. One of the consequences was political corruption, since foreign kings, especially the Kings of France, bought Swiss politicians by means of pensions. The recipients then exercised their influence to provide the foreign rulers with soldiers. Zwingli therefore sharply criticised these abuses and mercenary service in general. He was elected a Canon of the Great Minster in Zurich in 1521. The next year the Zurich Town Council under his guidance prohibited all mercenary service. At the same time he began to attack doctrines and usages of the Roman Church. This was mainly done in several public disputations in the presence of the Town Council and other leading citizens, both laymen and clerics. Zwingli contended that such an assembly had the same authority as a Church Council. In 1524 the Town Council passed resolutions which amounted to a breach with the Papacy. The Roman Catholic Mass was abolished, and the Lord's Supper celebrated merely as a symbolic remembrance. The monasteries were closed and the monks could either leave them, or live on pensions granted for their lifetime, but they were not allowed to wear cowls. Pictures and music were banned from the churches. A synod composed of representatives of the laity and the clergy was to direct the Church, but actually it was subordinated to the State since legislation and the appointment of pastors were reserved to the Town Council. Zwingli too abandoned the idea of free congregations as Luther had done and instead created a State Church. But his State was a republic which assumed a theocratic character. A special court had to judge moral delinquencies and it proceeded in an inquisitorial and legalistic way. Going to church and receiving the Lord's Supper were supervised. Zwingli's character was expressed in the words: 'A Christian man does not grandly talk about dogmas, but with the help of

God constantly works for arduous and great aims.' In many respects he was a forerunner of Calvin.

Zwingli's thought showed parallels with that of the radicals. His theology was rational while Luther condemned reason if it touched certain mysteries. The difference between Luther's and Zwingli's concept of the Eucharist was soon to lead to a bitter struggle between them. Like Karlstadt and others Zwingli went far in rejecting ceremonies and outward forms, and even regarded the two remaining sacraments merely as symbols, though valuable ones. The Bible was to be the foundation of faith, but Zwingli also gave great importance to the inner voice in interpreting it. In contrast to Luther he was a staunch republican, and inclined to war in the interest of the Faith. He also showed more sympathy for the peasantry. In spite of all this he was soon involved in bitter struggles with the sectarians in whose eyes he was a reactionary, and he showed himself even more intolerant towards them than Luther.

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REVOLUTIONARY AGITATION AMONGST THE KNIGHTS. HUTTEN'S END

LUTHER's revolt against the Papacy found also many supporters amongst the lower nobility. A large section of the knights envied the Church for its rich possessions which in many cases were endowments made by their ancestors. The knights were further by tradition susceptible to national resentment against the Roman Pope. This attitude was intensified by the fact that a section of the knights embraced humanism, which as a rule fostered national pride. Luther in his propaganda made great use of the national indignation against the financial exactions of the Pope, but was not himself a nationalist in the sense of being an enemy of other nations. His standards were exclusively religious and moral, and nationality was in his eyes not a value by itself. He harboured no national prejudice against nations. Luther's judgments on the German character were usually very severe, and often excessive in their condemnation. Nor did he regard the unity, power and prestige of the German nation as desirable aims. Any striving for worldly honour, greatness, wealth and power was to him a work of the Devil. The majority of the Humanists held exactly the opposite view than Luther. Nevertheless for some time they looked upon him as a comrade in arms in the fight for national independence and against popish superstition.

The most outspoken advocate of this co-operation was Ulrich von Hutten whose earlier activities have already been related. Nationalism played a great role among Hutten's motives in fighting Rome. His repeated visits to Italy, where he studied at Pavia and Bologna, aroused his national feelings, his hatred of Papacy and his imperialism. The Italian contempt for the German

barbarians hurt his national pride and he was involved in various national brawls with Italians. In 1517 he was crowned Poet Laureate. Luther's attack on the abuse of indulgences at first seemed to him a mere monkish squabble, but he later changed his opinion admiring Luther's personality and being impressed by his teaching. In order to find new weapons against the Papacy he searched for historical sources regarding the struggles of the old emperors with the Popes and found material in the monastery of Fulda, but also used the opportunity to keep three valuable manuscripts from the library for himself. At the Reichstag of Augsburg (1518) he made an address to the assembled princes and delegates of the towns in support of the proposed great armaments against the Turks, sharply attacking the Pope on the one hand because he incited to war and on the other hand because he did not spend on the war what he had exacted from the Germans for this purpose. The plan of using a great war against the Turks to enhance the power of the Emperor and national unity, was a favourite idea of the humanists and many of them had assembled at Augsburg to further this cause. Hutten, however, probably also acted in support of the policy of the Archbishop of Mayence, in whose pay he was, though that policy was not inspired by national motives. An anonymous tract at that time greatly stirred public opinion by violently attacking the papal policy and in particular the proposed taxation for the Turkish war. The author was Friedrich Fischer, a canon of Wuerzburg and intimate friend of Hutten, who obviously wanted to frustrate the suggested tax on the clergy. This shows that the alleged national opposition to the papal policy was sometimes actuated by very selfish motives.

The hatred of the Papacy was expressed in numerous anonymous pamphlets, often written in a satirical style. A dialogue entitled *Philalethis* introduces a peasant of the name Henno, whose son after sexual intercourse with a near relative wants to marry her. This, however, required the absolution of the Pope for the sin committed. Henno consults a friend as to what to do and is advised to appeal to the Legate of the Pope in Germany through a middleman, a papal Courtesan, who requires advance payment for his service. Before they go to the Legate they talk about the scandals of the court of Rome, where the money squeezed out of the Germans, amounting to millions, is being spent on mistresses and boy-prostitutes and where the clerics come to the altar from stables, pothouses and brothels. When Henno and his son meet the Legate himself the latter first tells

him of the most shameful tricks which he intends to use in order to draw money out of the pockets of the Germans. Henno then places his petition before the Legate who is willing to give him absolution for forty ducats. The peasant is in despair. He has not seen a single ducat for twenty years. The legate then begins to haggle, saying he would be content with twenty ducats, but the son replies he could not even afford ten. In this case, the Legate says, he could do nothing and even, if he could, he did not see why he should give something gratis to Germans and in particular stupid peasants. On being reminded of Christian charity and heaven, the Legate says: 'I have got the heaven with me and sell it daily to whom I want. Christ too is in my power and must do what I will.' In this tone the conversation continues until at last the Legate is ready to content himself with a cow, but asks the peasant at least to tell everybody about his great powers so as to procure him customers. The son then contrasts the attitude of the Pope and his Legate with that of Christ and the apostles. After further altercations the dialogue ends with an appeal to the Germans not to let their old virtues of loyalty and faith be corrupted by this wickedness, but to awake and save the fatherland.

Other tracts contained even more poisonous attacks on Rome. It is probable that Hutten who was a master of satire, had a share in some of these anonymous literary products but did not want to sign them because he had to consider the Archbishop of Mayence from whom he got financial support. Hutten may also have contributed to the pamphlet *New Karsthans*, though Butzer is regarded as the main author. The pamphlet itself represents Sickingen as the friend of the Gospel and the common man, who guided by Hutten's advice, will perhaps lead a future revolt of the people. While the pamphlet itself is couched in a cautious tone the thirty articles appended to it are violent incitements against the papists: The Courtesans shall be killed like mad dogs; a begging monk must be hit with a stone weighing no less than four pounds; if a beadle serves a summons or a ban his ear shall be cut off and, if he does it again, his eyes put out; the property of a stingy bad priest anybody may take away, and so on. Hutten's campaign reached its peak in four dialogues full of scathing indictments of the Roman See, calling on all Christians, in particular the Germans, to exterminate this pestilential seat of all sin and evil.

Hutten agreed with Luther not only in his hatred of the Papacy and its organs, but also in his detestation of luxury goods,

especially foreign ones, large scale commerce, capitalism, jurists, excessive drinking and eating, and in his praise of agriculture. But unlike Luther he had a very high opinion of the Germans who to him were still the first people in the world. Instead of making war they now cultivated the works of the spirit and excelled in science, inventions and literature. Like so many intellectuals, however, Hutten wavered between enthusiastic belief in progress and moods of pessimism which inspired him with a romantic longing for the past—the Germany described by Tacitus. The best time, he declared, was when the Germans inhabited scattered homesteads, clad in skins and furs of native animals and lived on the products of their soil, without towns, commerce, luxury and moral corruption. Later foreign merchants brought them luxury goods which were appreciated by good-for-nothings, idlers and people wanting something new. Villages and towns were founded in which all the sluggards and unwarlike gathered. But those of noble race and bold mind clung to the old customs, and rejected the new foreign ways. They loved war, despised money, practised hunting and hated a quiet, effeminate life. In this way arose the cleavage between the nobles and the town people. The nobles were harassing and robbing the merchants and would destroy the towns, if they were not protected by fortifications. The princes, however, wanted the knights for their feuds with their enemies. Hutten admitted that there were a few honest people in the towns and did not approve of the robbery by the knights, nor of their harsh manners, yet he saw in them a valuable element for the preservation of the good old German integrity, frugality and manliness. The worst people were the clergy who were depicted as profligate, effeminate creatures sponging on the German people. In comparison with the robbery by the clergy and the merchants, that of the knightly highwaymen was less harmful.

Hutten was in favour of strengthening the power of the Emperor and reducing that of the princes, whose rivalries were the cause of German disunity and weakness. The estates and treasures of the Church should therefore be largely confiscated to enable the formation of a great imperial army comprising knights and lansquenets. This would guarantee internal peace and security, lessen the social unrest and restore the power of the Empire. Germany was not only to be made independent of the Pope, and be freed from his exploitation, but the Papacy was to become dependant on the Emperor as in the time of Germany's greatness. The German people seemed to Hutten worthy of world

domination. Part of the expropriated property of the Church was to be used for social and cultural improvements. People doing no useful work or living in idleness should be driven out. This was obviously aimed at the great financiers and merchants. For the realisation of this plan Hutten in 1521 proposed an alliance between the knights and the towns against the princes and the clergy. But Hutten himself was filled with such prejudice against the towns that even a man like Sickingen seems to have been more objective. A little later he defended the waging of feuds as an inalienable privilege of the nobility.

Hutten more and more espoused the idea of a revolution against the Church and against the princes, or a section of them. With the progress of this striving within him he also changed his literary weapons. Instead of quoting classical authors he now referred to the Bible, and adopted Luther's arguments against Rome. While he had formerly written for the highly educated he now wanted to reach the common people, and wrote in German instead of Latin. Though he was hardly fitted to become a great political leader he had all the qualities of a great pamphleteer and agitator.

In planning a revolution led by the knights, Hutten set his hopes on his friend Sickingen, and he believed that thousands of knights would follow his call. Franz von Sickingen was a knight of great ambitions, wealth and power. Besides feuds, robberies and atrocities such as perpetrated by many knights, he also undertook larger warlike enterprises as condottiere in the service of princes, or with their connivance. He was even employed by the Emperor as commander of troops. These plans were strangely mixed with an apparently sincere interest in Luther's teachings, though the latter rejected wars and revolts. Sickingen offered Luther an asylum in one of his castles if he should need one, and Luther wrote that this had greatly strengthened his courage. He also dedicated a tract to Sickingen calling him 'his special master and patron.' Prominent disciples of Luther found a refuge in Sickingen's castles and propaganda pamphlets were printed there. Luther's own attitude remained ambiguous. On the one hand several of his letters spoke very warmly of the knights and their willingness to defend the Gospel and he sent Sickingen and Hutten his greetings. Some of his writings published at that time contain passages which predict the outbreak of violence against the heads of the Church and seem to approve of it, but in other places, especially in a tract written at the end of 1521, he warns against any revolt. In his next publication he says of the

high ecclesiastical dignitaries that the Rhine would hardly suffice to drown all these knaves. Another book of 1522 had the title *Against the Wrongly So-called Spiritual Status of the Pope and the Bishops*. To a great extent it is a scathing condemnation of the shameful life of the young noblemen who fill episcopal seats, but by their ignorance, disregard of their duties, and their moral conduct are a disgrace to their office. Some people are afraid of using violence fearing incalculable consequences. Luther's answer is: 'It would be better that all the bishops should be murdered and all the abbeys and monasteries exterminated than that a single soul should perish, not to speak of all the souls being ruined because of those useless fellows. For what are they good except that they live in debauchery, sponging on the labour and sweat of others, and counter-acting the word of God?' If they continue their conduct, Luther says, nothing would be fairer than a strong revolt which would exterminate them. If it happened one could but greatly rejoice at it. Later he says, however, that by extermination he did not mean by the fist or the sword.

At the end of August 1522 Sickingen started a great onslaught on the Archbishop of Trier, an Elector of the Empire. For this purpose he had brought together a strong force of mercenaries and artillery. A manifesto to the people, drafted by Heinrich of Kettenbach, a former friar and ardent preacher of the new faith, described Sickingen as the liberator from the yoke of Papacy, and the defender of evangelical freedom. Sickingen's lansquenets had an evangelical emblem on their sleeves. But the attack failed and in 1523 the Archbishop with other princes besieged Sickingen in his castle Landstuhl. Its walls could not resist the bombardment, Sickingen himself was mortally wounded, and capitulated shortly before he died. The princes also took twenty-six other castles of Sickingen and his friends. The Swabian Confederation, moreover, undertook a campaign against the Franconian knights who had committed many robberies and other outrages. Altogether the Confederation captured twenty-five castles and destroyed most of them. This was not only a decisive defeat of the lawless section of the knighthood, but also a sign that the time of the knights had passed. Their strongholds collapsed under the fire of the big guns which the federated princes and towns had assembled.

Sickingen's rise and fall greatly agitated public opinion. Melanchthon said that he had taken Caesar as his model, but called his attack the most infamous robbery. Luther saw in his ruin a just judgment of God. At the time of his rise a popular song

had asked whether he would not soon become emperor. Hutten had compared him to Zizka, and popular tracts took up this slogan. He was represented as God's rod punishing the princes who oppressed the poor people. A pamphlet shows him at the gate of heaven, and pictures him as the friend of the common man. St. George, the patron of the knights, thereupon lets him in, though he had not been blameless. Other pamphlets, however, ridiculed the attempt to palliate the selfishness of robber knights by the plea that they were defenders of the Gospel.

Hutten had not been with Sickingen when he was besieged because he was very ill. After the downfall of his friend he had to flee. In Basle he intended to visit Erasmus, but the latter sent him word through a friend that this might provide the enemies of himself with weapons, and should rather be avoided. If necessary, however, he was prepared to see him and also offered his good services, and perhaps assistance. Hutten's answer was a pamphlet furiously attacking Erasmus as a coward, flatterer of princes, parasite, and so on. Erasmus retorted that Hutten was a rake, robber knight and revolutionist. He also contradicted the rumour that he belonged to the party of Luther. He appreciated what was good in him, but deplored his polemical violence and his dwelling on questions which were beyond human reason. Both Luther and Melanchthon disapproved of Hutten's attack on Erasmus. In 1522 Luther also criticised Erasmus for his view that the will was free, and thereby opened a controversy which was to end in their total estrangement.

Hutten was soon compelled to leave Basle. But Zwingli granted him asylum on a little island in the lake of Zurich, and there he died in 1523 in greatest poverty, only thirty-five years old.

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THE GREAT PEASANT WAR

FOR a long time the expectation of a great uprising of the common man had hung over Germany like an immense dark cloud. Debates in the Reichstag and territorial diets, the writings of the reformers and their adversaries, the satirical and polemical pamphlets and numerous astrological prognostications eagerly bought by the people—all bore witness to the tense social atmosphere. In a tract of 1522 Luther had strongly exhorted all Christians against riot and revolt, and a year later had stressed again that a Christian must not resist the rulers even if their commands were unjust. But this tract contained also strong words on the wickedness of the princes and their oppression of the people and had warned the former that the common man was awaking.

After isolated riots the peasant movement became in 1525 a regular war and from Swabia spread over large parts of Germany, Austria and Switzerland. Notable exceptions, however, were Bavaria and the greater part of Northern Germany. Different motives contributed to the outbreak: social political and religious grievances as well as the increase in the sense of independence and power of the people. Wide sections of the peasants were certainly very oppressed and exploited. Luther later pointed out that it was mainly the poorer elements which took the initiative and many of the richer peasants participated only under duress, or in order to keep the movement in bounds. But modern research has shown that in many places the leaders were not proletarians but wealthy farmers, village mayors, innkeepers etc. A conspicuous part was also played by dismissed lansquenets, who had served in the armies of the Emperor or the King of France and who were disinclined to return to the

humble life of a peasant. It was not fortuitous that the movement broke out in the very regions where the habit of serving for a time as mercenary was very wide-spread. Moreover, in Germany it was not merely professional soldiers who were trained in arms. One of the best descriptions of German customs is by an Italian, Antonio de Beatis, who in 1517-18 travelled in Germany. He says of German men: 'All of them wear arms from boyhood, every town and village has a place where the people on holiday practise shooting with cross-bows and guns, and the use of pikes and every other sort of arms.' In Wurttemberg, in particular, there was a sort of militia which had to equip themselves and carried out frequent exercises. Numerous shooting ranges were provided. After the Peasants' War the foremost general on the side of their enemies, Truchsess von Waldburg, wrote that the war had shown the wisdom of the Waelsch (French and Italian) rulers in not permitting their common people to have arms.

The peasants wanted to safeguard their village autonomy and their right to the free use of common pastures, woods and rivers against the encroachments of the judges and officials of governments. Further they protested against attempts of many small rulers to extend the feudal rights to their detriment. In the last twenty-five years an extraordinary rise in prices had taken place, many peasants had become wealthy and their carousing and ostentation were criticised by preachers and satirists. On the other hand, the fall in the monetary value depreciated the feudal rents fixed in money. In many parts servitude had disappeared or become nominal. These facts induced a section of the lords to raise the rents, to make servitude more effective or even to introduce it anew by all means in their power. In the smallest territories the ruler was also the landlord and his authority as a prince was easily misused to further his private interests. The peasants felt equally oppressed by decaying feudalism, nascent capitalism and the developing modern State. It was the time when the rulers everywhere tried to create an effective administration and this required much money. The Emperors had obtained grants of money from the Reichstag and their territorial estates for their wars against the Turks and other enemies, and the burden had in the end always fallen on the shoulders of the common man. Measures against the religious movement added to the excitement. With the progress of the movement the appeal to the Divine Law as laid down in the Bible became ever more conspicuous. The Bible knew no feudalism, and showed a strong

note of social justice and human equality. When therefore the initial demand for the restoration of the old rights and the redress of local grievances was gradually replaced by the principle of the Divine Law, based on the Bible alone, this indicated the emergence of a double radicalism, religious and social.

In the rising of the peasants of Upper-Swabia, against the exactions of the Prince-Abbot of Kempten and other lords, the leaders formed an organisation, called Christian Union, and elaborated a programme called 'The Twelve Articles'. It was soon accepted by the peasants in many other territories too, and twenty-five different impressions of it are known. It seems to have been mainly the work of Sebastian Lotzer, a furrier who was secretary of the movement, and of Christoph Schappeler, a preacher. This programme was moderate in its demands and substantiated them by quotations from the Bible. The most important points were: the right of the villagers to elect and depose the parsons, who should preach the pure Gospel without human addition; the maintenance of the grain tithe for paying the preacher and charity, but suppression of other tithes; the abolition of serfdom; the right of the poor man to game, wild birds, fish and free wood; cessation of newly imposed burdens; revision of excessive rents by arbitration; no arbitrary fines exceeding the traditional ones; restoration of commons illegally appropriated; and the abolition of the heriot, the lord's right to the best cow on the tenant's death. The articles ended with the declaration that any demand would be dropped if it could be proved to be contrary to the Bible, but that on the other hand the peasants reserved the right to raise further demands if passages in the Bible could be found justifying them. This last clause implied incalculable possibilities.

The Christian Union proposed that a number of evangelical divines, in particular Luther and Melancthon, should decide what the Law of God demanded. A second proposition named also Frederick of Saxony and a number of village mayors as arbiters. Luther and Melancthon actually published their opinion, but it was a great disappointment for the peasants. Luther expressed it in a tract *Admonition to Peace*. It begins with very stern words to the princes and lords who are made responsible for the revolt. God wants to punish them by it for their tyranny. They are admonished to be conciliatory and to settle the matter by arbitration. Among the Twelve Articles some are absolutely fair, others are for the lawyers to decide, not for the theologians. But the peasants too are reprobated by Luther. Their revolt is

entirely incompatible with the word of God. The demands that tithes should be only used for the maintenance of the preachers and for charity, and that serfdom should be abolished are in Luther's eyes sheer robbery. Christian freedom has nothing to do with freedom from servitude, and the tithes belong to the authorities. Both sides therefore are doing wrong and should submit their quarrel to the arbitration of a board, composed of a few lords and some town councillors. It is significant that Luther does not say that peasants too should be members of this board. The rising in Upper-Swabia was, indeed, at that time ended by the pact of Weingarten which provided arbitration. The lords and peasants had each to choose an equal number of arbiters from the towns, and, if necessary, Archduke Ferdinand was to be chairman. Luther approved this pact.

Melanchthon whom the Count-Palatine had asked for his advice took the same line. The peasants' refusal to be serfs he called wickedness and violence. A wild and undisciplined people such as the Germans, he said, should have rather less freedom than they had. The authorities were too mild and permitted every licence of the people. The Bible said: 'A whip for the horse, a bridle for the ass and a rod for the fool's back' (Prov. 26, 3). Yet he also admonished the princes to show clemency to the poor people after putting down the revolt and punishing the guilty.

Other programmes showed the emergence of a Christian communism. In 1526 the most elaborate plan was put forward by Michael Gaismair, a leader of the Tyrolean peasants, and one of the most remarkable personalities in the peasants movement. He was himself not a peasant, but came from a wellknown mining family and had long experience as administrator in the service of the Bishop of Brixen. Gaismair hated towns and commerce which he regarded as originators of social inequality, and wanted to establish a pure peasant democracy. Communistic ideas were also held by various sects, and in particular by Thomas Muentzer, then the leader of the movement in Thuringia. Such ideas, however, were visions of fanatical biblicists rather than those of practical peasants, who when quoting the Bible in favour of having goods in common thought of pastures and woods, game and fish.

The striving for a peasant democracy with special emphasis on village autonomy was much stronger. Constitutional questions did not interest the peasants much, though the more enlightened among their leaders hoped that the Emperor, or one of the

princes, would take their side against the nobles and the Roman Church. Many recognised the Emperor because Christ had ordered it in Luke 20. The peasants had common interests with the lower classes and the lesser burghers in the towns who usually sympathised with them. During the Peasants' War there were many risings of the urban proletariat against the ruling oligarchies. Many towns hoped that the war would give them an opportunity of recovering or increasing their liberties, and particularly to settle their old differences with the clergy. The famous humanist Mutianus writing to Duke Frederick of Saxony said that the movement was rather more an urban than a rural one and that the peasants had been instigated by the towns through Jewish emissaries. The real aim of the towns was to become as independent as Venice or the old republics. A very revolutionary element were the workers in the ore mines which were largely controlled by the Fuggers.

The military power of the peasants seemed very considerable. In manpower they had an immense superiority over the princes, as standing armies did not then exist. The Habsburgs, moreover, were paralysed by their simultaneous war with France and by the menace of Turkish aggression. Among the peasants were many battle-trained lansquenets, and there were enough pikes and rifles. In the course of the war they captured also many cannons from the lords and the towns. The only arm they were lacking was cavalry, but this could have been made good by tactical skill. Yet they had no really great military leaders, and if one of the troops happened to possess an able commander even troops from the neighbourhood would not recognise his authority. The fatal weakness of the peasants was their lack of discipline and co-operation, and their inability to make an effective alliance with the towns, due to deep-rooted distrust and ill-feelings. The town-dwellers had too often despised and exploited the peasants and this was not easily forgotten. Radicals among the peasants even demanded that the walls of all towns should be razed to the ground and that the houses in towns should not be better than those in the villages in order to realise full equality. Gaismair incorporated this point in his constitution for the Tyrol.

There were also moderates on both sides who tried to mediate, and to prevent or stop the war. In some cases they succeeded but mostly the intransigents got the upper hand, especially if one side believed itself to be the stronger one. The course of the war need not be described here. The peasants captured a large number

of castles and monasteries which were plundered and sometimes burnt down. Monks and nuns were insulted or maltreated, noblemen were driven out, forced to submit or killed, churches and objects of worship were desecrated, and archives destroyed. Libraries with valuable manuscripts and books were deliberately annihilated in accord with the belief that the ignorant were best fitted to understand the word of God, and that learning was harmful. Much time was wasted on emptying the casks of wine in the cellars of the monks and lords, but few grave atrocities were committed. There was a time when the peasants seemed to win. Great princes and many smaller ones, knights and towns had to make agreements with them accepting their demands. Very dignified was the attitude of Elector Frederick of Saxony. The peasants had great sympathy for him, and he refused plans to put them down by force. Much injustice, he said, had been done to the common man and, if God had decided to give him power he submitted to God's will. But Frederick was then a dying man, and other persons of influence opposed his attitude, among them Luther.

It was a great triumph for the Franconian peasants when on May seventh the highest in rank among the princes, the Archbishop and Elector of Mayence, had to conclude with them, through his deputy, an agreement in which his principality joined their federation and accepted the Twelve Articles. The peasant leaders now thought of formulating a detailed plan of reform and convoked an assembly of delegates of regional troops, the so-called Peasant Parliament, which, however, could not begin its debates because of a turn in the course of the war. At that time also many of the middle and upper classes co-operated with the peasants, partly for selfish reasons, partly from real sympathy. Franconian troops were led by the knights Goetz von Berlichingen and Florian Geyer, of whom at least the latter was a true friend of their cause. An influential adviser was Wendelin Hipler, a former chancellor of Count Hohenlohe, and a man of great administrative experience. Another sympathiser was Friedrich Weigandt, an official of the Archbishop of Mainz. Hipler and Weigandt elaborated drafts for reforms which were largely based on the so-called Reformation of Emperor Frederick III. They wanted the victory of the evangelical cause, the secularisation of the ecclesiastical possessions, and political and social reforms. Remarkable features of their plans were demands designed to strengthen the authority of the Emperor and the unity of the Empire at the expense of the princes and nobles, to

abolish feudal and clerical privileges, to constitute the law courts in a democratic way and to suppress the big trading companies.

The fact that every group of insurgents was concerned with their regional and local interests only, but showed little understanding for co-operation with other groups, was the main cause of their defeat. When their enemies had completed their preparations they took the offensive and put down the insurgents one after the other. Particularly significant was the battle of Frankenhausen with the Thuringian peasants under the lead of Thomas Muentzer. When the princes offered peace, he induced the hesitating masses to reject it, promising them that God would help them by a miracle. His troops had been provided with big guns, but not with ammunition, and they were poorly armed. When the artillery of the princes began to fire, the peasants stood and sang hymns, but then began to flee and were cut down. In many other places too the peasants were utterly routed, and heavily punished. In other cases, however, they were not decisively defeated, and hostilities were ended by negotiations. In these cases they sometimes obtained considerable concessions, or promises, which, however, were not always kept.

The Peasant War strikingly illustrated the disadvantages of Germany's excessive particularism. The main seats of discontent were regions divided into numerous tiny states, where the ruler was the only or principal landlord. Larger States with a stronger central power remained more or less quiet. This does not prove, of course, that social conditions were better—though in a large State the ruler had an interest to protect the peasants against the nobles. But the extraordinary number of small States fostered also countless local frictions between their peoples, and prevented the rise of a wider solidarity between them. This was the main reason why the revolution failed.

The victory of the princes was a great disaster. It has been estimated that the number of peasants killed amounted to about a hundred thousand. After the battles further thousands were either executed or driven into exile, or fled abroad. Heavy penalties in money were imposed upon the peasants in addition to the damage caused to their farms by the war. The feudal burdens were in some places increased and in others reduced. On the whole, the revolt seems to have been a warning to the lords and conditions remained largely unchanged for about two or three centuries. The deterioration of the status of the peasants in

Brandenburg-Prussia had nothing to do with the war, since in this territory no serious rising had occurred. After the war the princes disarmed the peasants, and often diminished or abolished local self-government both in towns and villages, but some of these measures were soon revoked or remained a dead letter. Shortly after the war the Reichstag passed a bill in which those declared infamous for their participation in the rebellion recovered their right to participate in the sessions of the village courts. Their number was so great that without this amnesty the village courts would have come to a standstill. In some territories the rulers later also armed the peasants again to form a militia for defence against invaders.

The catastrophe of the peasants naturally did not end the discontentment of the lower classes and the aspirations of revolutionary idealists, but they were driven underground. Two years after the war the printer Hans Hergot wrote and published a communistic pamphlet which he put into circulation through students. The Leipsig magistrate arrested him, and he was beheaded. There were other isolated signs of revolutionary tendencies surviving.

The Peasants' War became also a fateful turning point in the history of the Reformation. When it began most peasants had unlimited confidence in Luther. His attitude to the Twelve Articles was their first great disappointment, but worse was to follow. Shortly before the decisive defeat of the peasants he issued a short pamphlet against them describing them as the worst murderers and robbers who must be smashed, strangled and stabbed, secretly or publicly by anybody able to do so, just as mad dogs might be killed. The only case in which mercy should be shown was that of prisoners who had been forced by the insurgents to join them. But Luther had no word of mercy for others. He even warned the princes against patience and pity. Now was the time for the sword and for wrath not for mercy. A prince might now earn heaven by shedding blood rather than by prayer, and those who died in battle could have no more blessed death since they had obeyed the divine word and by this service of love saved neighbours from hell. These words showed that Luther forgot not only the spirit of Christ, but also his own fundamental religious doctrine of salvation 'by Faith alone, not by Works'. Just before publication he also used his influence on princes such as Johann, the new Elector of Saxony, and the Count Albrecht of Mansfeld, to warn them against any weakness towards the peasants. The pamphlet aroused

great misgivings even among Luther's followers and friends, and he felt compelled to issue shortly after it two further tracts in which he defended his attitude, but also recommended mercy against prisoners in general. If Luther, however, contended that he had said so already in his first tract, and that his critics had lied in denying it, this statement was definitely not true. Probably, carried away by his temper, he wrote words which he repented when he had cooled down.

Luther's adversaries pointed out that on the one hand his unrestrained incitements against the Church and the princes had greatly encouraged the revolutionary propaganda, and on the other hand that then he had shown great cruelty in denying mercy to the victims. These arguments contributed to the growing estrangement of many of his followers, also in the higher and educated classes. Moreover, his attitude exasperated a great section of the peasantry. Though Luther himself was the son of a peasant he also later often judged them with great harshness, perhaps partly from his awareness that his popularity among them had waned. When in 1530 he was called to his dying father, his friends dissuaded him from the journey, and he himself wrote that with regard to the peasants he would not tempt God and take the risk.

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LUTHER ON WAR AND REVOLUTION

IN 1526, a year after the great revolt of the peasants, Luther published a book discussing whether soldiers, too, could gain salvation. A famous military leader and nobleman, Assa von Kram, had expressed grave doubts to Luther, whether being a soldier was not entirely incompatible with the teaching of Christ. This view was widespread among men of strong Christian conscience, particularly among the sects.

Luther's tract starts with distinguishing between the person and the office. Though it is un-Christian to kill a neighbour, this does not apply to a judge, a hangman, or a soldier, if he remains within the bounds of his office. In these cases it is a work of love comparable to that of a surgeon who may amputate a limb to save a life. In a just war the hand that wields the sword is the hand of God. If every use of the sword were forbidden this would also hold good in criminal justice. True, justice is often misused as the doings of some princes and nobles after the defeat of the peasants showed. They tried to extort money from wealthy peasants by threat of execution, though these had joined the revolt only under duress. Luther expresses his greatest contempt for such noblemen, and regards it as a disgrace to Germany that such things could have happened. 'We Germans,' he exclaims, 'are Germans and remain Germans, that is swine and beasts without reason.'

He then discusses whether an uprising against the ruler, and his deposition or murder can be legitimate but comes to the conclusion that it is not. In the worst case the subject should flee to another country. The experience of many revolutions shows that the final outcome was never good. Every encourage-

ment of the mob, or concessions to rebels, makes things worse. It is better that the tyrants should wrong them a hundred times than that they should once do wrong to the tyrants. For the mob knows no measure, and it is better to suffer wrong from one tyrant, who is the legitimate ruler, than from countless tyrants that is the populace. Both the Bible and the natural law forbid any revolt. If a ruler is bad God will destroy him, unless He maintains him in power as punishment for his sinful subjects. That a king rules not arbitrarily but according to the laws of the country and, in particular, observes constitutional restrictions, is good and fair, though he must in addition also keep the laws of God. But if he breaks these obligations it is not for the subjects, but for God, to punish him. Luther knew that many would raise an outcry about this opinion and would accuse him of hypocritically trying thereby to make the princes forgive his previous teachings, namely his alleged responsibility for the Peasant War. Actually he had often said what was only too true, that the majority of princes and lords were godless tyrants and enemies of God, and for saying so was in their disgrace; but he did not care.

As regards the Peasant Revolt Luther finds that it was God's punishment for the disobedience and conspiracies which princes and nobles showed towards Emperor Maximilian. During his lifetime this Emperor had been able to delay the outbreak of the Peasant War, and Luther is convinced that, if this war had not come, there would have been a rising of the nobles against the princes, and perhaps also against the Emperor. But now all the blame was put on the peasants alone, and the princes and nobles posed as people who had never done any wrong.

In conflicts between independent States the aggressive party is in the wrong and it is just that it should lose. History shows that aggressors have usually been defeated and rarely those who had been attacked. A prince should only wage war if he is forced to defend himself. It is primarily the task of the nobles to defend the country for which they have got their fiefs. The task of the agriculturists is to nourish the country. But useless people who contribute neither to the defence nor to the nourishment of the country should not be tolerated. They should either be forced to work or be driven out of the country. This was an allusion to the capitalists and merchants whom Luther detested. He further discussed what the subject should do if his prince begins an unjust war. In this case the subject should obey God more than his ruler, and suffer for it. Neither enrichment nor

the increase of honour are just aims of a war, but lead to hell.

The question of resistance to the orders of the legitimate ruler has been touched by Luther in other tracts and in his Table Talk, too. His attitude was always essentially negative, and this was surely in accord with the Gospels. If a ruler tried to break the law by robbing a subject or raping his wife, the subject might, of course, resist, alone or with others, and even kill the attacker, just as any other criminal. But any resistance in political questions was not permitted, except if the command of the ruler was against the will of God or the natural law, and then it had to be restricted to passive disobedience. Luther did not recognise the sovereignty of the people, though Melanchthon occasionally did. But he agreed that the Reichstag could depose the Emperor. Towards the end of his life he was convinced by the arguments of lawyers that in Germany the Emperor was not a real monarch but in important questions could only act with the consent of the princes, as a burgomaster or the Rector of a University could not act against the will of his council. In this case, resistance was permitted, but only in defence against an attack by the Emperor.

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Cf. pp. 312, 327 and 396.

THE BREAK WITH HUMANISM

LUTHER'S challenge to the Papacy was welcomed by many humanists, partly for religious and moral, and partly for national reasons. Ulrich von Hutten, attempted to combine nationalism with the religious Reform and with social aspirations. But most humanists saw their master in Erasmus, who stood above nationalism. For several years relations between Erasmus and Luther, and between their disciples, seemed friendly, though tempered by caution. Both fought against the same religious and ecclesiastical abuses and corruption and, at first, also seemed to strive for the same aims. Yet, there was deep disagreement on fundamentals which for some time was not clearly realised. In Erasmus' view Christianity meant a pure, pious mind and way of life, peaceableness and love, and he wished to avoid controversies on mysteries of faith beyond human reason. Luther, however, laid the main stress upon faith, which in his view, besides piety and love, implied also a considerable dogmatic element, though in the beginning the latter did not fully reveal itself. In particular, Luther regarded human nature as entirely corrupted by Adam's fall, and incapable of obtaining salvation by its own forces. Man could only put his trust in God, and, if God granted him grace, this was due not to his merits but to those of Christ who had suffered an expiatory death at the cross. Will appeared to him as absolutely unfree; everything was predestined by God's inscrutable will, which had elected some for Heaven, and condemned all others to Hell. The Church regarded the doctrine of the absolute depravity of human nature, and the lack of every freedom of the will as a pagan aberration. The Bull against Luther

condemned it and it must also be said that it was contrary to the prevailing testimony of the Scriptures.

Luther's definite breach with the Church, and his violent attacks against the Papacy and many traditions, aroused Erasmus' gravest apprehensions. He was convinced that this would lead to revolution, bloodshed and chaos. Discord was so odious to him, he confessed, that even truth, if fostering sedition, would displease him. He expected everything from gradual reforms of the Church, knowing that many of her highest dignitaries were convinced of their necessity. Yet, for a long time Erasmus refused requests of the Pope and rulers to declare himself against Luther. At last, however, he wrote a book on the Freedom of Will (1524) criticising Luther's doctrine. He pointed out that the question was very difficult, and that he could only try to make a contribution to its better understanding. It discussed numerous passages in the Bible, speaking for the freedom of will. Luther's teachings were shown to be inconsistent with God's holiness, justice and goodness. Without freedom man could not be held responsible for his acts; if will were completely unfree he could make no exertions to overcome his evil desires, and the whole moral order would be upset. Human nature was not entirely incapable of good actions, but will was weak and needed grace. Erasmus' view was on the whole that of the Church. He also declared that love was more essential than faith.

The book was acclaimed by the humanists, and also by Melanchthon who recognised its moderation; but Luther spoke of it with utter contempt. Shortly before he had wedded Catherine Bora, and she persuaded him to reply in order to avoid giving the impression that he considered himself refuted. At the end of 1525 he, therefore, brought out a long book *Will a Slave*. Erasmus' warnings concerning the uncertainty and obscurity besetting the problem were brushed aside, and his view of Christian life was stigmatised as that of a heathen and Epicurean. To Erasmus' view that the lack of free will would hinder men from improving themselves, Luther replied this was all right. Nobody could improve himself, but only realise his inability to do so, and rely on faith. The lack of free will might be incomprehensible, but this very fact strengthened faith. What can clearly be realised by reason is not an object of faith, but only that what is against reason. If from the standpoint of reason God appears unjust, hard and tyrannical, this is a means to test our faith. The passages in the Bible quoted by Erasmus are interpreted by Luther in an exactly opposite sense. He even

contends that God often said the opposite of what He really meant. Did not a father sometimes tell his little child: Come, my son, come on—why don't you come?—though he knew quite well that the child was unable to do so. The father wanted to teach his child the lesson that it must invoke his help. This applied also to passages in the Bible which seemed to indicate that God wanted to save all men. God may reveal His will in one way, and actually have a quite different will which remains obscure to men. Luther does not say, however, how any religious belief could be founded on the Bible if God's words did not necessarily express His real will and might be intended to lead men astray. He again stresses the utter depravity of men since Adam's fall, which God had admitted. Man is in all essential questions dominated by base passions. Yet God has elected some to be saved, and the wicked are also instruments in this process, as for example Pharaoh by his oppression of the Jews, or Judas, who by his treason towards Jesus furthered the plans of God. Any measure of free will would make redemption by Christ's death superfluous, and this view would be the worst blasphemy.

The way Luther, in this controversy, twisted the words of the Bible in order to make them fit his thesis, illustrated the practical consequences of his fundamental principle that the word of God should be the only source of religious beliefs and that every Christian could understand it. Unfortunately everybody found in the Bible whatever he wanted. Luther was no doubt absolutely convinced that his own interpretation was the only true one. As a prominent Protestant theologian of our time, Professor Paul Wernle, says: he regarded his view as coming from God, and any other as emanating from the Devil. Wernle also points out that most of the interpretations in Luther's book against Erasmus show that he read the whole Bible with conscious one-sidedness and was determined to use force. True, St. Paul in Rom. 9 quoted by Luther, stresses predestination, but his argument is only directed against the selfrighteous legalism of the Jews, and is not a general and exclusive thesis. In other places, even in the same epistle, the Apostle obviously assumes a certain freedom of will. But Luther tended to think in extremes and was blind towards everything speaking for his opponent. A characteristic example of his arbitrariness in handling the Bible is his translation of 1 Tim. 2, 4. The English Authorized Version correctly translates: 'God, our *Saviour*, will have all men to be *saved*, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth'

But Luther replaces the word 'saved' by 'helped', and contends that the Apostle Paul in this sentence merely wanted to say that we should help our neighbours by prayers or otherwise.

It cannot be assumed that the public mind was able to follow the more intricate arguments and implications of this controversy, which therefore may be left for closer discussion to the history of theology. Luther always clung to his thesis. Nevertheless it has not become as predominant in Lutheranism as later in Calvinism. Melanchthon gradually softened its rigidity by allowing human will a certain scope of co-operation. The Augsburg Confession ignored the question. When Calvin taught predestination, many Lutherans even blamed him for representing God as a cruel tyrant.

Luther's controversy with Erasmus did much to estrange the humanists from his cause. Reuchlin, Germany's greatest classical scholar, had been averse to it from the beginning. Others had been frightened by the rise of religious and social radicalism, and had withdrawn from any association with Luther's movement. Some had even become defenders of the old Church. Now the quarrel about the freedom of will revealed the full antagonism between humanism and Lutheranism. The humanists feared also that the latter would mean the death of learned studies, as Luther denounced them as pagan. Religious controversies soon completely occupied the mind of the time, and had an adverse influence on humanistic studies. Many preachers thundered against reason, or warned the students against the study of pagan antiquity. Melanchthon wrote one should cut off their tongues. Most of the radicals went farther still and deprecated any learning, extolling the ignorance of a simple soul as the state of mind best fitted to understand the word of God. Further, the advancing confiscation of the property of the Church, and the general contempt for it, made a career in the Church unattractive. Many posts and prebends ceased to exist, and those humanists who had lived on them fell into distress. The new faith did not yet offer many opportunities of a better post. Even Luther and Melanchthon lived in very modest circumstances while publishers earned fortunes by bringing out or reprinting their works. All this deterred many young people from a learned profession. True, Wittenberg for some time attracted hosts of students from all countries, but classical studies declined. Melanchthon was soon the only professor who still cultivated them. His audience, however, had shrunk to a handful of students and his theological

colleagues showed such ill-will, that he would have preferred to leave.

From many other cities, too, came gloomy news. Matriculations fell in Erfurt between 1520 and 1526 from three hundred and twelve to fourteen; in Vienna between 1515 and the twenties from six hundred to twenty or thirty. In Heidelberg the Senate complained in 1526 that the number of professors exceeded that of the students; in Freiburg the famous jurist Zasius had only six students, and these were all Frenchmen. There were, of course, counter-tendencies. In Nuremberg the Town Council founded a classical college, which acquired a great reputation, and Strassburg also had an excellent high school. Philip of Hesse created the University of Marburg (1527), and later the rivalry between different denominations and religious schools led to the establishment of many further universities. In the course of time the Reformation greatly furthered the spreading of education, but at first its influence on learning was unfavourable. The book-trade, too, went down. In 1530 Erasmus was told by booksellers that before the rise of Lutheranism they could more easily sell three thousand volumes than six hundred afterwards. This probably referred to humanistic literature. The sale of Bibles and polemical tracts certainly increased. In the twelve years after Luther's translation of the New Testament eighty five editions of this and other versions appeared. Erasmus also complained that the interest in learning was flagging. The Lutherans, he said, were not able to name three men who, under their regime, had made good progress in the humanities.

The controversy about human nature and will had far-reaching implications for the public mind, which, however, in the German conditions of that time could not come to their full development. If human nature was a mixture of good and evil, freedom and servitude, reason and unreason, it was natural to assume that neither the ruling powers nor the ruled and neither one Church nor the other were entirely good or entirely bad, but were all capable of improvement. This school, to which Erasmus belonged, believed therefore in peaceful progress by means of compromises and the gradual transformation of the existing institutions, particularly the old Church. But if human nature was completely depraved through Adam's fall, willed by God, and if mankind was divided into two camps, the elect of God and the followers of Satan, then no gradual improvement by man's own forces was possible, and there was no possibility

of a compromise between Heaven and Hell. The practical conclusions from this view, however, were not drawn by Luther but by Calvin.

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THE RISE OF STATE CHURCHES AND A NEW ORTHODOXY

LUTHER'S movement began as a striving for liberation; for freedom from the Papacy and the hierarchy; from useless and harmful dogmas, rites, prohibitions, and customs. The word of God alone, revealed in the Scriptures, was to be the authority. But it could only be grasped by those enjoying God's spirit and grace, and faith was the only way to obtain them and salvation. Doctrines and rites played a secondary role. Even the sacraments were not necessary for those who had faith. There was to be no caste of priests, but all Christians were priests, and able to understand and teach the word of God. No force should be used against other denominations, and no government had the right to interfere in matters of religion.

Yet Lutheranism partly developed in directions at variance with its beginnings. The freedom of the spirit gave way to rigid dogmas, new outward rites became obligatory, a new clerical profession arose which often equalled, or even surpassed, the old priests in domineering bigotry; other beliefs were treated with intolerance, and instead of an 'invisible Church' of true believers, or a free congregation it was a very visible, compulsory Church, or the government, which decided in religious matters. The new evangelical faith split into numerous schools combating one another with the greatest animosity. The hope that the new faith would lead to the improvement of moral and social conditions was often disappointed. Yet these shortcomings must not be unduly generalised. Lutheranism as a whole, as presented in Elert's admirable *Morphology*, shows also many, most impressive manifestations of the true Christian spirit.

Luther began to deviate from his original position under the

impact of a surging radicalism denying every authority and tradition. Its prophets believed to hear the Holy Spirit speak in their soul. Luther was soon driven to defend authority and tradition, to stand for gradual changes, and to disparage the trust in one's own reason, and in the voice of the Holy Spirit. He feared that the forces which he had aroused would discredit and destroy his work, and estrange those most needed for building a new Church. It hurt him when the radicals defiled crucifixes, and trampled with vulgar abuse upon things which had been regarded with pious feelings by many generations. Landgrave Philip of Hesse gave later (1539) a significant illustration of this irreverence. His ancestor, Elizabeth of Thuringia, had devoted her life to works of Christian love, and had been declared a saint. Yet Philip with his own hands pulled her bones from the coffin, making cynical jokes, and had them put into a sack. His hope to find golden treasures, however, failed. The crown on St. Elizabeth's head was gilded copper, and Philip indignantly blamed the Church for having swindled the people.

Most of all Luther feared that the progress of rationalism would destroy the belief in the divinity of Christ. Opinions tending in this direction were, indeed, widely voiced. Various other factors also fostered his development towards dogmatism. Moreover, once his fighting spirit was aroused he rejected any compromise. When Erasmus remarked that there were problems about which we could not know anything for certain, Luther replied: God forbid! A Christian must be sure about everything. He must make up his mind: Yes or No—and he must stick to it. The growth of dogmatism in him was accompanied by increasing co-operation with the governments. Not that governments were necessarily for orthodoxy, or radicals for intellectual freedom. But while Luther feared that the radicals would destroy his image of Christ, the governments were afraid that they would upset the law and the social order. Luther himself was at first suspect to the princes about whom he had said very hard things. Among his first followers were many elements apt to arouse suspicions such as monks shaking off their fetters, the lower classes in the towns, knights wishing to rob the Church, rural agitators, students, and so on.

The first who adopted the new faith were not princes but town magistrates acting under the pressure of democratic parties, while the rich patricians were against it. But after the Peasant War more and more princes came forward favouring his cause. His declaration that every ruling power, even if tyrannical, was

God-ordained, and must be obeyed, certainly contributed to this evolution. But it was not Luther alone who taught it. Zwingli, and later Calvin, have also defended it, and it was, no doubt, founded on the words of Christ and Paul. Yet the turning of the princes to Luther was also due to other causes. Some were carried away by public opinion, or wanted to win it. The wish to secularise ecclesiastical property, too, played a great role. As a rule religious, political and financial motives all contributed to the decisions of the princes. In the ruling circles of Germany, religion was not undermined by scepticism as in a large section of public opinion in Italy, and to some extent in France. The majority of the German princes had a serious religious interest in spite of their often very dissolute way of life, or perhaps just because of it. It must also be remembered that the breach with the old Church was not yet believed to be definite. Some princes wanted to make concessions to the new faith without completely abandoning the old traditions, hoping that the old Church would accept this.

The question of Church property became urgent through the fact that many monasteries had practically dissolved, and many churches had lost their catholic character. The monks had left and the priests and congregations had adopted Lutheranism. This raised numerous questions such as the creation of new forms of public worship, the appointment of preachers, the re-organisation of charity and education, the disposal of ecclesiastical property and of endowments for saying mass. Luther, moreover, wanted the authorities to take over also other Church property and to use it for religious, educational and charitable purposes. But in the first phase of the Reformation Luther did not think of giving the government any influence on the Church. He neither envisaged a national Church for Germany, nor a centralised one in each territory, but wanted that every local community of believers should elect their preacher and settle their ecclesiastical affairs themselves.

Luther wavered, however, between different possibilities of organising these local communities. His idea of an invisible Church of true believers would have best agreed with autonomous congregations based on voluntary membership. He was sure that such a community, even if it at first had six or ten members only, would under God's inspiration quickly draw the others into their fold. To Schwenkfeld, however, he said he was not sure whether he knew a single true Christian, and would be glad to find two of them. Such small communities, moreover, might

have developed into sects which Luther greatly disliked. He therefore set his hopes on the towns and boroughs, though they were not communities of true believers only, but composed of genuine and false Christians. In 1523 the small town of Leisnig appealed to him for advice and assistance in organising their Church life, and Luther used this opportunity to write a tract laying down principles. The title claims 'to prove from the Bible that a Christian assembly or community has the right and competence to judge on religious teachings, and to call, appoint and depose preachers'. If a preacher errs, however, the tract adds to this thesis, every Christian may preach himself, though in an orderly way. Luther further published a regulation concerning a 'Common Chest' worked out in consultation with him by the preachers of Leisnig. It laid down that the whole local property and the revenues of the old Church should be put into a common funds and should be used for the maintenance of the church and the schools, for paying the preachers and teachers, for the care of the poor, orphans etc., for pensions to the monks wishing to stay on, and grants for those leaving, but also to give loans to everybody in need of capital, to pay back endowments to needy descendants of the donors, to pile up stocks of grain, to give a dowry to poor maidens etc. In brief, everybody was to get something out of the wealth of the old Church. These funds were to be administrated by ten guardians elected by the parish on a very broad basis. The nobles and the town council were each to elect two members, and the common burghers and peasants each three members. The upper classes would therefore have been represented by four members, and the lower classes by six.

If this plan had been successful the German Lutheran Church would have become a very democratic institution. In every parish the guardians elected by the artisans and peasants would have dominated the churches, schools and welfare institutions. They would have had much greater power than the town councils which were often controlled by local notables such as wealthy landlords or guild masters. But the subsequent experience was disappointing. There were many dissensions and conflicts between different parties. The scope of the plan was obviously too wide and also the whole idea of giving every parish full freedom how to use the local church property was not practical. The communities greatly differed in administrative capacity. The magistrates of great Free Towns had much experience, but those of the smaller boroughs were less qualified. These were often dominated by local

cliques or queer prophets, and the rural parishes were largely controlled by the squires, who were patrons of the churches. Would the latter have submitted to the decisions of a sort of local church parliament of their tenants?

In 1524 Luther addressed a tract to the town councillors of all German cities admonishing them to found schools for boys and girls. He complains that the schools are declining through the Reformation because many parents thought that the chances of making a living as a clergyman had decreased. Unfortunately the foreign peoples who call the Germans stupid beasts seem to be right. The princes and lords should care for education, but they have no time because they are fully occupied with their carousals and other entertainments. The town councillors must therefore take charge of this task, and they can do it better than princes and lords. The boys should first of all learn the three sacred languages, Latin, Greek and Hebrew, in order to understand the Bible, and to become preachers. But the languages are also invaluable for the art of government, and practical life. The teaching of history too is most important, and he would also like to have the children instructed in singing, music and mathematics. The towns ought further to establish public libraries with books in the three languages and German, especially the Scriptures and commentaries, the ancient poets and orators, the historians juridical and medical books but not the theological and philosophical rubbish of the monks.

This tract shows that Luther still expected more from the towns than from the princes. Yet he gradually came to realise that princes or magistrates of great towns, were better suited to help in establishing the new Church than the multitude of small parishes such as Leisnig. The idea of a large number of autonomous parishes implied considerable risks. If every town and village would have full freedom in regulating their religious affairs—would this not lead to chaos? Would the ecclesiastical property not fall into the hands of local oligarchies or of the nobles who dominated many of the smaller communities? Should the rich means of the old Church be handed over to congregations led by fanatics such as Muenzer who would have used them for financing a social revolution and for killing the 'godless'? And what should be done if there were rival congregations? The time was not yet ripe for the idea of general toleration, and the freedom of every Christian to form his own view of what God had meant in the Bible threatened to lead to the splitting of the evangelical movement into countless sects fighting one another.

Luther was therefore ever more compelled to modify his initial standpoint that everybody should be free to serve God according to his conscience, and that governments should have no right to interfere in religion. Already in the early twenties he urged his government to intervene both against the Catholics and the Radicals. He justified his new attitude to the secular authorities by the argument that in the absence of evangelical bishops the rulers might undertake the defence and propagation of the gospel and the governance of the Church as a work of love—so to say as emergency bishops.

This alliance with the temporal power led to the rapid spread and consolidation of the new faith, and the development of a State Church in which the decision lay with the government. A principal means to this end was the holding of periodical visitations of all the parishes by inspectors. They had to instruct the local preachers, remove the unfitted ones, and to organise Church life. These visitations at first revealed a terrible picture of distress, neglect and demoralisation. Many parsons had no, or almost no salary, and were starving. The peasants showed themselves very stingy in supporting the local churches and their preachers. Morality had much deteriorated. The old Church had been discredited, and the new one had not yet won the confidence of the people. The Lutherans put the blame for this decline on the old regime, while their opponents declared that it was the result of Luther's doctrine of the absolute depravity of human nature and the inability of man to win salvation by a pure life and good works. If it was enough to believe that Christ's death had redeemed man—why should he take the trouble to combat his sinful inclinations? Melanchthon himself admitted that this error was wide-spread.

Luther had not, of course, intended to make the governments arbiters in questions of religion, but the course of things naturally led this way. Soon many controversies were to spring up which aroused much bitterness and threatened public peace and order. Somebody had to be the arbiter, if civil strife was to be prevented. The development of State Churches later led to the formation of consistories composed of theologians and lawyers appointed by the governments. They were first established in Electoral Saxony mainly as courts for matrimonial and disciplinary cases replacing the former jurisdiction of the bishops. A more comprehensive task was entrusted to them in Wurttemberg, and gradually all the other Lutheran States followed. At last they had to decide in all affairs of the Church, also about doctrine and liturgy. In most

States there were also superintendents, or similar organs, to supervise the Church. The pastors were mostly appointed by the consistories though as a rule the towns and squires had the patronage and could propose candidates. In Wurttemberg the Church had great autonomy. The laity had no representation though in some territories laymen had certain functions in caring for the poor, or supervising morality. In Hesse a plan of autonomous congregations resembling Luther's original idea was put forward by the French Franciscan F. Lambert. In its definite form the prince would have had a say only as a member of the synod. Landgrave Philip asked Luther for advice who dissuaded him from its realisation.

Luther often stressed that the property of the old Church should mainly be used for religion, education, and charity. Actually parts were appropriated by princes, nobles, and towns for themselves. The bulk, however, was as a rule devoted to those aims. In some territories, for example, Wuerttemberg, Brunswick, and the Palatinate, the property of the Church was put into separate funds devoted to religious, educational and charitable purposes. In Hesse-Cassel fifty-nine per cent of it was used for these aims, in Electoral Saxony more than two thirds. Parts were also needed to pension former monks, and so on. The parts which went to the rulers were often a compensation for former payments of the abolished abbeys, and on the other hand the parts which fell to the Church were sometimes burdened with contributions to the needs of the State. The Estates had great influence in settling these questions. Monasteries were often used to endow new universities. The University of Marburg received the property of ten monasteries and shares in the returns of five others. Up to 1580 about one hundred and seventy new learned schools were founded by Protestants, and about one hundred former monasteries were used to endow them. Great amounts were also spent on elementary schools which, at that time, were largely designed for religious instruction.

The development of dogmatism and of a new clerical rule was a counterblast to the rise of radical doctrines. Many evangelists claimed to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, and put forward teachings which Luther considered detrimental to Christianity. He therefore restricted his original doctrine that every believer might interpret the Bible according to his own lights, and teach the word of God. This was now in practice reserved to the professional theologians, and the properly qualified pastors received a position of great authority which factually was hardly inferior to that of the priests of the Roman Church. While in the latter

only a bishop could excommunicate a sinner, now even village pastors claimed this right. Later, however, the consistories prevented such abuses. As regards the authority of the Bible, Luther was convinced that it was not valid for the political and social questions of the day, but only for the higher, religious issues. He regarded the Old Testament as largely superseded by the Gospels and also considered certain parts of these as inferior in value to others, or even suspected them of being spurious. The final authority in deciding what was the word of God was to be a very subjective one, namely a personality imbued with Christ's spirit, and the criterion was in Luther's view whether a biblical book led to Christ or not.

Luther's fundamental belief was the nothingness of man before God, his absolute incapacity to fulfil His commands by his own forces. The only remedy was faith in God, which was not a belief in dogmas, but the loving trust in Him and the humble submission to His will. But with the progress of Lutheranism more stress was laid on the dogmatic belief that Christ had died to redeem our sins and to restore thereby God's grace towards man. The acceptance of this dogma was often thought sufficient to prove piety and to obtain salvation. Love, however, was considered less important. Luther in 1526 established four theses, and pointed out that those concerning faith were of gold, those concerning love of silver. In another place he said: 'I am obliged to obey faith more than love, for faith is above love, and of primary importance. If I fail in love it is a sin against the neighbour, but failure in faith, and letting it be reviled is to disown Christ and God. This is more culpable than acts against neighbours.' He also said that morality was a faculty which also many heathen and Jews had possessed. But the essence of Christianity was the belief that God had made us a free gift while we had done nothing to earn it. Most radicals were entirely opposed to this attitude and regarded it as ruinous to morality.

The doctrine of 'faith alone' had been laid down by Luther in contradiction to the view of the old Church that outward works were valuable. In his book on the Babylonish Captivity Luther had strongly stressed that not even the sacraments were absolutely necessary. It was enough to have faith. But in his fight against the radicals Luther modified his attitude. They smashed the crucifixes and indulged in scurrilous denigrations of every rite, even of the sacraments. In opposition to them Luther now stressed that communion was most valuable and necessary for salvation. It was also believed that the baptism of infants who

could not understand its meaning had this effect, and that infants who died before would not be saved. Other external acts too, for example going to church, were now considered compulsory. Persons who had not attended the sermon were often fined.

In the fight against his numerous adversaries Luther became ever more authoritarian, and his attitude to other creeds changed from a wide tolerance to a narrow bigotry, though, up to the last, he sometimes fell back into a more liberal mood. The early Luther was convinced that the word of God would quickly overcome all obstacles, and that no force was needed. Moreover, the new faith was at that time itself threatened by persecution. Later, however, any exercise of another religion, except in strict privacy, seemed to him idolatry which must be exterminated. He became convinced that two religions could not be practised side by side without grave disturbances of peace. At first Luther would have been content with the expulsion of dissenters, but later in grave cases even approved capital punishment. But he never went as far as Calvin who spied out even the private life of every citizen, punished also private deviations from orthodoxy and lack of zeal, and approved the burning of heretics.

The growth of dogmatism and intolerance was particularly fateful in the question of the Lord's Supper as it led to deep cleavages between the Reformers. In his *Babylonish Captivity* Luther had replaced the Catholic theory of transubstantiation by that of consubstantiation. According to it Christ's body and blood were really present in the bread and wine, but not owing to the action of the priest as the Catholics held. Luther rejected various theories involving a spiritual or symbolic interpretation of Christ's words, in particular that of Karlstadt. But the controversy became a great conflict only when Zwingli in 1524 under the influence of the Dutch jurist Hoen and of Karlstadt accepted a purely symbolic view. The Lord's supper was to him henceforth merely a commemoration, comparable, as he said, to a patriotic assembly designed to celebrate a victory in the past. Before this change Zwingli, too, had believed in the real presence but in a mystical sense, and he always clung to a union of the communicant with Christ by the lifting up of the heart to heaven. A great literary feud broke out between Luther and Zwingli, and between their disciples, which lasted a long time. Luther attacked his rival with fanatical vituperation, denied him the name of a Christian and called him possessed by the devil and worse than the papists. But also Zwingli heaped abuse upon his opponent. He even called him the Antichrist, and blamed

him for relapsing into Catholic superstition. Luther insisted on a strictly literal understanding of Christ's words instituting the Lord's Supper. The communicant really chews Christ's flesh, and really drinks his blood, though both are invisible. Also unworthy people and unbelievers receive his body, though, may be, to their detriment. When his opponents replied this was impossible because Christ had risen from death and was sitting on the right hand of God, Luther retorted that the right hand of God must be understood in a symbolic way and that God was everywhere. Heaven was not such a place as represented on pictures showing Christ sitting on a golden chair, and so on. The Zwinglians objected that the alleged corporeal ubiquity of Christ would mean that he was also in unworthy places. Moreover, what was the use of conveying his body by bread and wine if he was already everywhere? But Luther parried every blow with great dialectical skill. The debate spread to other theological subjects, in particular the two natures in Christ, and became ever more heated. Luther compared his opponents with bugs, which, the more they were crushed, the more they were stinking. They were murdering his Christ, he said, and then they speak of peace and love. Accursed be such love into the abyss of hell!

This controversy showed again the difficulty of building a theology exclusively on the text of the Bible. The latter could be understood in different ways, and often contained, indeed, real or apparent disharmonies. Prof. Walter Koehler, a Protestant theologian who has written the standard book on this controversy, agrees with the opinion of D. F. Strauss that the whole conflict sprang from the misunderstanding of the Biblical text by both reformers. The text actually combined both alternatives.

Zwingli's influence quickly spread over a great part of Switzerland. The forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Luzern and Zug, however, remained Catholic and, threatened by Zwingli's plans of aggression, allied with Ferdinand of Austria. Zwingli worked together with Landgrave Philip of Hesse to form a great league of all the enemies of the Habsburgs against the Emperor. Philip wished to bring about a reconciliation between Wittenberg and Zurich in order to win the Lutherans for this league. Various attempts failed, but at last both sides agreed to hold a disputation at Marburg (1529). Luther and Zwingli appeared, accompanied by the most prominent of their followers. The disputation took place, and in all points the two parties agreed except in that of the Lord's Supper. Luther was particularly intransigent, and even the otherwise so conciliatory Melanchthon

showed a very rigid attitude. But also Zwingli was partly responsible for the failure of the conference. The Wittenberg reformers saw in Zwingli a follower of Karlstadt and the radicals, whom they considered the worst enemies of their faith. The conflict, moreover, had also a political background. Most South German towns leaned to Zwingli, and if this tendency had further developed they might have joined Switzerland, and might have carried great parts of Germany and Austria with them. This situation therefore implied the possibility of a big civil war in which foreign powers would also have intervened. The horrors of the Thirty Years War would have come almost a century earlier. Landgrave Philip and Zwingli were obviously working for such a war. Luther and Melanchthon regarded this policy as incompatible with Christ's teaching, and Melanchthon in particular had grave suspicions of Philip's policy and character which were to be confirmed by his later attitude.

In the following years further attempts were made to bring about a reconciliation between the two Protestant denominations, but now the Swiss showed themselves very intransigent, while the South German towns were less rigid. Zwingli in 1531 fell in a battle with the Catholic cantons. Luther expressed his satisfaction, and said that Zwingli had died like a murderer. He regretted that the Catholics had not made an end of his creed too. The South Germans now came to an understanding with the Lutherans and also joined their League of Schmalkalden. The cleavage between Lutherans and Zwinglians prepared the soil for the later antagonism between the followers of Luther and Calvin which also turned mainly on the concept of the Lord's Supper.

The rise of orthodox Lutheranism was, however, modified by a development in Melanchthon's mind which soon exercised great influence, too. It began already in the early twenties under the impression of the break with humanism and of the growing danger of radicalism. The experience of the visitations contributed to it. Melanchthon continued to cling to the fundamentals of Luther's thoughts, and tried to give them a systematic elaboration, but also tried to reconcile them with the essential doctrines of humanism. Human nature was not entirely corrupted, and will not wholly unfree. The human mind could be elevated and refined by education. Reason and conscience were valuable gifts. Will was free at least to a certain extent and in a specific field, that of moral and social relations. The Law of Nature played a great role in Melanchthon's thought. He also recognized the value of traditions, form and discipline. The new faith was to

him really the old genuine tradition of the Church, and he highly appreciated the opinions of the early fathers. He long cherished the hope of a reunion with the Roman Church, if the latter would give up her aberrations. In regard to the Lord's Supper Melancthon later adopted a more spiritual view than the orthodox. This brought him very near to Calvin's concept. But his deviations from the orthodox creed aroused the fiercest opposition of the zealots, and led to unending strife in the Lutheran ranks.

A comparison of the first phase of the Reformation in different countries of Europe seems to show that it sprang in Germany from a popular movement which in extension and intensity had hardly a parallel elsewhere. The princes at first hesitated, but later gradually joined the movement. The very fact that it embraced large masses, however, fostered radicalism, and aroused the menace of chaos. This compelled the rulers to bring it under their control. In England and in the Scandinavian countries the Reformation was primarily taken in hand, and largely imposed upon the people, by monarchs. This was sometimes done in a tyrannical way without strong religious motives, and against considerable resistance of the adherents of the old faith, which was much stronger than in Germany. The motives of these monarchs were partly the striving for national independence, and for a strong royal power, which required the appropriation of the wealth of the Church. In Germany princes and nobles also profited from the secularization of the ecclesiastical possessions, but most of them were used for the new Church, education and charity. Henry VIII's procedure against the monasteries, and his distribution of their property greatly differed from the parallel actions in Germany. In England, too, parts were used for national purposes, but a large part went to favourites of the King, and strengthened the position of a new nobility. In Germany the wealth of the old Church strengthened much less the nobles than the States and the princes. This had also important political consequences. In France the Reformation gained wide sections of the nobility and the bourgeoisie, but the masses of people remained staunch Catholics.

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THE ANABAPTISTS AND OTHER SECTS

WHEN Luther raised the claim to religious freedom he unintentionally gave the impetus to the development of numerous divergencies in thought, faith and rites. Ever more readers of the Bible felt inspired to put forward their own interpretations, and to draw their own conclusions. This experience of Luther's contributed much to the shifting of his course towards a new orthodoxy and hierarchy. But this move only aggravated the growth of dissent. His opponents could point to his own former statements and claim that they had remained true to them, and had carried on, while he had retracted. In fact, Luther's thought from the beginning implied many divergencies, which were bound to deploy and each of them tended to bring forth new dissensions. The sects, moreover, were not merely the offshoot of Luther's original ideas. Their ideas showed also affinities to the Waldenses, the Mystics and the Bohemian Brethren, and Erasmus, too, had great influence on some of their prominent leaders. The prospect of the disintegration of Christendom into countless sects, and of the decay of its fundamental beliefs, frightened many who had welcomed Luther's initiative, and they sought a refuge in the old Church, the bulwark of unity and stability.

The sectarian movement became known as Anabaptism, though this name is not correct. Not all of the sects laid stress on the point of baptising adults only. It was their enemies who, against their will, lumped them together under that name. Moreover they did not form a unit, but were greatly divided. Bullinger, Zwingli's greatest disciple, classified the different groups of Anabaptists and distinguished thirteen main divisions. The ideal which inspired most of the sects was the example of the early

Christians, the community which lived under the guidance of the Apostles. Following their model most sects wanted to form communities of true believers, and for this purpose to withdraw from the world. Both the State and the Church were full of members who were Christians in name only, and whose predominant influence made it absolutely impossible to live in that spirit which Christ had taught and shown in his life. Baptism was regarded as a symbol of that spirit and in consequence only adults should receive it. The Bible knew nothing of the baptism of infants, who, moreover, were not yet capable of understanding the significance of the act. For this reason many sects rejected the baptising of infants and this brought them into conflict with the ruling Churches, both Catholic and Protestant. The sects further denounced all dogmas and ceremonies as unbiblical and godless. Their worship was very simple, and they tried to realise the principle that all Christians were born to be priests. Their subjectivism, however, led to countless divergences in their beliefs and habits. Features common to most sects were belief in free will, in the paramount importance of works of love, and in moral purity. The majority further professed absolute pacifism; they abhorred war and violence, and refused to have anything to do with military service, arms, and taxes for purposes of war. Like the early Christians they kept aloof from State service; they neither accepted posts as judges, nor in the administration; they did not take oaths, and considered all their goods as common property. In practice their attitude to property ranged from a far-reaching charity to a Christian communism. Many sects wanted to express their separation from the world in their external appearance also. They differed from others in their clothes, and in their ways of speaking, eating, standing, walking, resting etc. In general they laid stress on a very rigid morality and shunned even harmless entertainments. But there were also some which considered sexual licence as permitted. Even among the puritans. polygamy was often defended as a biblical institution. A widespread tendency was to conceive passages in the Bible in a literal sense which led to the adoption of queer customs. As Jesus had, for example, said that we should become like little children, certain sectarians imitated the behaviour of infants in a silly way. There were also visionaries who fell to the ground writhing in convulsions, and then promulgated what God had revealed to them.

No doubt the great majority of the sectarians were actuated by a truly Christian spirit, by love of God and their neighbours.

Among their leaders were men of great gifts and learning who sacrificed a brilliant career for a life devoted to their ideals and crowned by martyrdom. As wandering preachers they made such an impression on the people that everywhere congregations were formed. But this success often aroused the bitter resentment of the local clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, who denounced them as Satan's disciples, spreading the seeds of heresy and revolution. In Protestant towns the influence of the orthodox Lutherans or Zwinglians frequently led to their expulsion and forced them to seek an asylum elsewhere. Soon also ruthless persecution set in, the leaders were decapitated, burned or drowned, and the congregations founded by them were stamped out, in many cases with ghastly cruelty.

But there were also sectarians of a quite different type, preaching the killing of the godless by the sword, and prophesying that the Day of Judgment was near at hand. These prophets of violence often obtained influence through the very fact that the governments had destroyed the peaceable elements, which might have counteracted their incitements. Leadership therefore passed into the hands of fanatics whose plans and deeds then had the effect of discrediting every activity connected with Anabaptism.

The first group which aroused public attention were the prophets from Zwickau who in 1521 played a conspicuous part in the radical agitation in Wittenberg. They and their former preacher Thomas Muentzer were dangerous extremists who dreamed of the slaying of all the godless. They were often regarded as Anabaptists, though they had not much in common with them. Much nearer to the views of the Anabaptists was Karlstadt's thought. In any case the experience of these troubles filled Luther with violent aversion against all the sects, though he long deprecated any capital punishment for the sake of religion. A year later a group of Anabaptists was formed in Zurich who belonged to the peaceable section. Their principal leaders were Konrad Grebel and Felix Manz, both men of learning who came from the upper classes. They formed a circle for the study of the Bible, and Zwingli himself was often present at their meetings. But they later came into conflict with him, and under his influence the town council declared their tenets to be subversive of civil order as well as of religion, and punishable by death. In 1527 Manz was sentenced to death, and drowned in the lake of Zurich, and others too became martyrs. Most Swiss towns followed this example, though Berne seems to have been milder than the others. Many leaders, however, escaped to Ger-

many, and spread their beliefs there, especially in the Free Towns. Strassburg, Augsburg and Nuremberg became their main seats and also long showed them religious tolerance. In the towns the sects addressed themselves mainly to the lower classes, but found also adherents among highly educated people. Among the princes Philip of Hesse was almost the only one who treated them leniently, wishing to bring them back to the recognised evangelical Church. In the Catholic territories the persecution was still more cruel than in the Protestant ones, especially in Austria and Bavaria. In 1528 an Imperial edict, which a year later was ratified by the Reichstag of Speyer, imposed on Anabaptism capital punishment. Sebastian Franck relates that in a few years some two thousand or more Baptists were put to death.

The persecutions drove the Anabaptists eastwards into Moravia, Bohemia and Poland. In Moravia they found an asylum on the estates of great noblemen such as Lichtensteins and Kaunitz. Jacob Hutter, a Tyrolean, founded there a communist society, the Hutterian Brethren, who maintained themselves in spite of many persecutions, and in the second half of the sixteenth century were numerous and flourishing. Two hundred years later they migrated to Russia, and after a further century to America where they still exist. The Moravian Anabaptists have left hymns and reports of the persecutions which had afflicted them showing no trace of dogmatism, but humble, and even joyful endurance of martyrdom.

In North Germany Anabaptism was in close connection with the Netherlands where it was widespread. A remarkable figure was Melchior Hoffmann, a furrier by trade, without education but very well-versed in the Scriptures and inspired by visionary enthusiasm. He wandered about in Germany and the Netherlands and had great success in propagating the belief that the millenium was near, and would be ushered in by a great catastrophe. His disciples went still farther and had a great part in bringing about the Muenster tragedy. This Westphalian town was the scene of a fierce struggle between the Lutheran burghers and their Catholic ruler, the Prince-Bishop. In its course the Anabaptists, strengthened by Dutch immigrants gained control of the town, and established a 'New Jerusalem' which was to be the beginning of the millenium (1534). Communism and polygamy were introduced. The baker Jan Matthys, was made king, but was soon replaced by Jan Beukelszoon, a Dutch taylor, usually called John of Leyden. The Anabaptists exalted the Old Testament, they wanted to slaughter the godless, and exercised a reign of terror.

After a long siege by the bishop and his allies, however, the town was captured, and the movement drowned in blood. The example of Muenster was used by the enemies of the sects to brand all the Anabaptists as dangerous revolutionaries, and it gave the impetus to a new wave of persecution which aimed at destroying every trace of the sectarian movement.

The excesses of the fanatics of Muenster led also to a further hardening of Lutheran orthodoxy. Every sect was now regarded as a revolutionary conspiracy, and every freedom of religious thought was rigorously suppressed. Even in Free Towns which hitherto had shown a certain tolerance an orthodox regime was established. In Strassburg Martin Bucer, who later played a role also in the English Reformation, introduced a strict supervision of the preachers and each member of the congregation, and exercised a discipline which anticipated the spirit of Calvin's theocracy.

Up to modern times the Anabaptists have been judged too much by the experience with their revolutionary fanatics. The Lutheran tradition was particularly hostile to them. In more recent times communists, however, have remembered their social aspirations and have seen in them forerunners of their own creed. But the communism of the Anabaptists had little to do with the modern variety. Their whole outlook was shaped by religion, and in many ways it went back to the Middle Ages, to mysticism, asceticism and chiliastic visions. Yet some of the ideas held by Baptists pointed to the future, in particular their plea for toleration. Most of their followers were simple men who knew nothing of theology, and understood the Bible according to their own lights. Among their leaders, members and sympathisers, however, there were also scholars, and bold thinkers whose thought comprised many elements of modern thought.

Among all the reformers and their disciples none showed in his life and work the true spirit of Christ more than Caspar Schwenckfeld. He was a Silesian nobleman and an influential counsellor at the court of the Duke of Silesia. Luther's teaching imbued him with religious enthusiasm, and the ardent wish to revive the spirit of the early apostolic community of Christians. Active love was the driving force in his mild and imposing personality, though he was also a profound thinker. Luther's growing dogmatism and intolerance deeply disappointed him, and seemed to him a relapse into the legalism of the Old Testament and popery. He also observed that too many of the Lutheran preachers were actuated by selfish motives, intolerance and pug-

nacity, and taught the doctrines of their master in a way harmful to love and morality. But Luther's opponents too failed to live up to the example given by the early Christians. The sects were inspired by this aim. But Schwenckfeld knew them well and, though he appreciated their good qualities, he was disturbed by their many aberrations. Neither did the Zwinglians or the pantheist mystics satisfy him. In spite of his critical attitude to Luther's development he highly appreciated his merits. But Luther denounced him as a fool possessed by Satan, and his writings as the 'Devil's excrements'. To pursue his aim of working for an apostolic Christendom he gave up his high position at the Silesian court, and became an evangelist. For the last thirty years of his life he was harried from place to place by the fanaticism of the Lutheran pastors. Scattered remnants of his congregations maintained themselves in spite of all persecutions, and in the eighteenth century emigrated to America where the Church of his disciples still flourishes.

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THE FREETHINKERS

THE sects had largely grown out of the feeling that none of the existing Churches lived up to the true spirit of Christ. The growth of a new orthodoxy was accompanied by fierce theological quarrels. Luther's emphatic declaration that faith was above love and his concept of predestination seemed to many in absolute contradiction to Christ's teachings. Had Christ not said that love was the greatest of all commandments? Many of Luther's followers were deeply disturbed by his new dogmatism. Significant examples are the diary and correspondence of Christoph Fuerer, a Nuremberg patrician, merchant and alderman. He deplored Luther's stressing of faith at the expense of love, and his negation of the freedom of will. The doctrine of Predestination was incompatible with God's justice, was bound to undermine morality, and was not borne out by the Scriptures. On the contrary, in 1 Corinthians 13 Paul praises love above everything else. Fuerer thought that all men of whatever faith would obtain salvation if they only believed in their God, and were compassionate, friendly and helpful to their neighbours.

Luther also often disparaged and condemned reason, and asserted that only things beyond and contrary to reason formed objects of faith. This, too, disturbed many of his followers, and they were still more upset when he declared that God had in the Bible sometimes said what was untrue, and contrary to his real, hidden will, in order to test man's faith. Many disciples of Luther joined one of the sects which claimed to stand for his original principles. But soon the sectarians too became dogmatic and formalistic, set up beliefs and rules contradictory to love and reason, or fell into narrow puritanism and pharisaical self-

righteousness. Men of an independent mind who had joined them from deep sympathy not seldom felt greatly disillusioned.

This was the experience of Hans Denck, a Bavarian, who was an outstanding member of the Erasmian circle in Basle. Later he became headmaster of St. Sebaldus School at Nuremberg but through the influence of the orthodox Lutherans was soon banished from the town. In 1526 he joined the Anabaptists in Augsburg, and quickly rose to leadership. He was even called the Pope or the Apollo of the Anabaptists. But he soon felt disappointed and became alienated from the party, from whom he had expected the confederacy of all good men. In 1527 he died, only thirty-two years old.

Denck was a subtle and original thinker. He rejected Luther's main dogmas of redemption by Christ's death, of original sin and predestination. The supreme law, he taught, was love, the living spirit of God. Love was higher than anything else. Christ was not a God, but the flower of mankind and a teacher of the right life. Every man had a divine spark in his soul, the inner voice of conscience, and could achieve goodness without priests, dogmas and ceremonies. The doctrine of the Trinity was untenable. Christ taught only what the inner voice reveals, which was above the Bible. Hell meant the torments of conscience. All men would at last be saved, including the godless, and eventually the Devil, too. Denck also pleaded for general toleration. In feelings and ideas he was a forerunner of the Quakers. Johann Denck's views were largely shared by his friends Ludwig Hetzer and Jakob Kautz, who, however, had also some divergent opinions. Similar ideas were put forward by Johann Buenderlin of Linz, Johann Campanus of Juelich, and others. But there were also prominent leaders of the Anabaptists who were not in agreement with Denck's doctrine of the inner word and who emphasised the literal authority of the Gospels.

The most outstanding figure among the freethinkers, who wanted to free religion from any outward authority and forms, was Sebastian Franck. He was a Swabian born in 1499 at Donauwoerth, and studied theology and the humanities. First he was a Catholic priest, later for a time a Lutheran preacher, and had also sympathies for the sects, but was disappointed by all of them. He became a freelance writer, publisher and printer, and had at times to earn a living by making soap and peddling it. Franck lived mainly in the Free Towns of Southern Germany, especially in Nuremberg, Strassburg, Esslingen, and Ulm, and finally in Basle. In these little republics intellectual life was vigorous, bold views

found a large public, and there was more tolerance than elsewhere. But Franck's writings aroused the fury of the clergy, who harried him from one town to the other. His work was characterised by wide knowledge in many branches and originality of thought; and he was one of the most brilliant writers of his time. His literary activity lasted only fifteen years, but his productivity was astounding. It resulted in books on universal and German history, on religion and philosophy, on geography, proverbs, and other subjects, besides translations, and the publication of books by others. As an historian Franck made no original research, but compiled his materials from the books of others. But it was not his aim to put forward new facts. His goal was a philosophical interpretation of history for the people.

Franck was deeply religious, and imbued with the teachings of great mystics of the past. With them he believed that truth was too deeply hidden to be expressed in words which were all ambiguous. Whatever has been said of God is only an image and a shadow, and largely misleading. The only authority is the spirit of God which lives in every soul. This inner voice is above the Bible. Everybody finds in the Bible whatever suits him, and uses it as a justification of his evil ways. The Scriptures have been used to defend war and bloodshed, contempt of learning, the desertion of one's wife and children, and so on. No wonder that there are a thousand sects. The Bible is also full of contradictions, obscure passages, absurdities, and things unworthy of God. Franck was a bitter critic of all Churches and dogmas. In particular, he rejected Luther's doctrine of will being shackled by predestination, and of redemption by Christ's death. Salvation is achieved not by our belief in the Christ on the cross, but by the Christ within us. In a survey of heresies Franck came to the conclusion that many heretics were better Christians than the orthodox. To the Pharisees Christ too was a heretic and revolutionary. The worst degradation of religion is the alliance of the Church with the State. Franck had no intention to found a Church or sect himself. He wanted to encourage independence of thought, and probably created the German word 'selbständig' which means standing on one's own feet. His belief in the spirit was thoroughly individualistic.

In spite of his criticism of the Churches and sects Franck acknowledged that each of them possessed some part of the truth, but none had the whole of it. This justifies universal toleration. We must regard all men as brothers, including the Mohammedans and the heathen. The Jews too should not be per-

secuted. The rise of a new orthodoxy filled Franck with melancholy, and he felt that the world always wanted to be deceived. Every Church or sect desires to have a Pope of its own, and they do everything to get him by any means, fair or foul.

God has revealed himself not only in the Gospels, but also in Nature, which shows a divine order. Franck's neo-Platonic mystical pantheism, or panentheism, has affinities with Spinoza's thought, though he does not entirely identify God with Nature. God as substance has no will, wrath or desire, though he is always love. He becomes conscious of himself and acquires a will through actualisation in man.

History too is a divine revelation. Franck gave his book on world history the title *Historical Bible* indicating thereby that it might rival the Bible in disclosing God's intentions. He wished to be impartial, and admits, for example, that there had been many good and saintly Popes. His picture of history, however, is sombre. The world is full of darkness and error, everywhere truth is mixed with deception, and Christ in conflict with Adam, love with selfishness. The externalisation of religion and its association with worldly power and interests are mainly responsible for human aberrations. Franck was a lover of peace; he regarded power and domination as worthless and war as an abomination. Charlemagne is odious to him, while he praises peaceable rulers. In the struggles between Popes and emperors he takes the side of the latter. But on the whole he holds no brief for the Empire, though he shows a warm national sentiment. He judges princes severely and finds it characteristic that they often use the eagle as their heraldic symbol—a creature always thirsting for blood, delighting in big robberies, at enmity with all the other animals, and alone of them all incapable of being tamed or of being any use. This bold allusion to the character of princes, which Franck had borrowed from Erasmus, gave the orthodox pastors a good opportunity for denouncing him to the Emperor who had an eagle in his coat of arms. The princes and their advisers and the nobility are often described with asperity and bitter satire. Yet the common people too are treated in a very unflattering manner, and depicted as a blind, mad, fickle and brutal rabble. The best of men are always crucified by the misled masses, and later they are declared to have been saints, which does not, however, prevent the next ones from being crucified again, and so on. Though Franck had the greatest sympathy for all the oppressed and opposed serfdom, he deprecated any revolt. It only breeds tyranny, and tyranny then breeds new revolts,

and the plight of the people only gets worse. It was the experience of the Peasant Revolution which inspired these words. He remarks about it that the princes had mostly behaved like tyrants, robbers and murderers. But the world is full of paradoxes and it might be that an action, which is bad in itself, eventually has good consequences. History also gives many examples of the self-destruction of violence. Franck, like Luther, thought that the course of the world was a tragi-comedy, and men only puppets in a 'mummery' serving God's purposes. In the end divine justice will triumph. Pantheistic mysticism encouraged political quietism, and led to withdrawal into solitude.

Of the Germans Franck sometimes spoke with national pride, but he also criticised their faults, and found that hitherto they had exalted fighting above learning. He did not believe that the future would bring them great power. Like Erasmus and Thomas More he recognised that private property was actually contrary to God's law, and had only been admitted because of human wickedness. When the mighty hunter Nimrod, the founder of the first great empire, introduced property, this was a great misfortune. Everything exceeding our needs is unjust 'Mammon', and should be used for the poor. Franck stood for a simple life, and hated the making of money by commerce. He was not a communist himself, but one of his writings kindled in the mind of Rothmann the idea of establishing communism in Muenster.

Franck died about 1542. Even after his death Luther heaped vulgar abuse upon him, and the Lutherans did their best to discredit him and to blot out his name from the memory of the people. His works appeared in many editions and reprints, but after a time fell into oblivion. His last book is known only in Dutch and was found among the books of a Dutch Anabaptist Community. Some writers have concluded that towards the end of his life he had been compelled to leave Basle, and had settled in the Netherlands. But this is only a guess.

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LUTHER, THE TURKISH MENACE AND THE QUESTION OF WAR

EUROPE had for a long time been living in terror of the Ottoman Empire which far surpassed all the other States in military power and ruthless aggressiveness. Sultan Suleiman II, in particular, was striving for world domination, and the situation in Germany seemed favourable to this plan. In 1529 he besieged Vienna, but had to withdraw, nor was his next campaign a success, though he maintained his power over the greater part of Hungary ruled by his vassal Zapolya. The Sultan usually co-operated with France, and the enemies of the Habsburgs in other countries also hoped for his success. The danger of a Turkish invasion induced the Emperor to meet demands of the Protestants in order to obtain their help, though these never voted more supplies than what seemed to them the absolute minimum to protect Germany.

In this situation Luther reconsidered his attitude to a war with the Ottoman power. In 1529 he published two tracts on this subject and later a third. His principal book was dedicated to Landgrave Philip of Hesse who, however, confidentially expressed his regret that the Sultan had abandoned the siege of Vienna, and hoped that the Turks might make a new invasion. Luther first explains why he wrote the book. Certain preachers, namely the Anabaptists, told the populace that a Christian should not wield the sword, neither for war against the Turks, nor for any other purpose. Further there were people among the Germans who even wanted the Turks to conquer their country and to govern it. Alas the Germans were 'a wild and furious people, half devil, half man.' All this perversion, Luther continued, was then ascribed to him, and he was held responsible for every revolt and wickedness in the world. Pope Leo X in his Bull of Excom-

munication had also condemned him for having said that the Turks were the rod with which God punished our sins, and that fighting against them was therefore resistance to God. He confessed that he had said so, but now the state of the world had changed. The charge that he had incited to rebellion, however, was entirely wrong. On the contrary, he had been the first since the time of the Apostles, except St. Augustine, who had defended and exalted the temporal government, which hitherto even the most learned people had regarded as something heathenish, ungodly and dangerous to salvation.

His rejection of war was founded on the fact that Christ had taught us not to resist evil. This certainly also applied to war with the Turks. The further fact that the Popes had often incited to a crusade, a religious war, against the Turks had also aroused his opposition. The Popes had done so mainly to squeeze money out of Germany for quite other purposes. Moreover, the Church must not raise the sword. A religious war was contrary to Christ's teaching and had always failed. Lastly he thought the Christians should first mend their own ways. One villain had not the right to punish another. A mere war of aggression against the Turks would certainly be wrong, and a Christian army in a religious war might hardly comprise five true Christians. The majority might perhaps be worse than the Turks, and a disgrace to the name of Christ.

At present, however, it had become quite clear that the Turks were aggressors and hostile to the Christian faith. Luther did not credulously swallow the current opinion on the Turks, but tried to inform himself about their faith and customs. Later, in 1542, he also furthered the publication of a Latin translation of the Koran. What aroused him against their teachings was the anti-Christian tendency of Mohammedanism, which in his view showed parallels with popery, the warlike character of this religion and, to a lesser degree, the permission of polygamy, though, on other occasions, he had expressed the opinion that God had not forbidden a man to have more than one wife. His main arguments were that Mahommed denied the divinity of Christ and claimed to be greater than He. He moreover had preached continual war, the glory of war and world domination. True, most realms had been created by means of violence and crimes, but the Turks had surpassed all in aggressiveness, murder and robbery, because their religion ordered them to do so. Their government therefore was not a divine institution for the protection of peace and justice but a work of the devil and at the

same time a rod of God to punish our sins. In this the Turks resembled the Pope and his bishops who continually instigated emperors, kings, princes and peoples to wage war against each other. The Pope therefore is the Antichrist, but the Turk is the devil incarnate. In Luther's thought Pope and Turk were usually associated and in a letter he even declared that the Pope was the worst of them. The warlike character of the Turks led also to their contempt for agriculture, for women and for social ranks. They had established a complete centralised despotism without any nobility such as Thomas Muenzer had desired. Like the Pope Mohammedanism believed in salvation by works, it denied Christ, degraded authority and marriage and encouraged gross immorality. But the Pope does it by hypocrisy, the Turk by violence.

Yet it is said that the Turks among themselves were loyal, friendly and truthful. Luther was willing to believe this. No man was so bad that he had nothing good in him. A prostitute sometimes had more goodness in her than ten honest matrons, and murderers and robbers were often better in their mutual relations than many others.

If the Christians wanted to fight the Turks they ought first to have a good conscience, and thereby overcome the devil within them, and take the rod out of God's hand. To this purpose the pastors must exhort them to repent of their sins, to pray, and to become true Christians. Luther further gives detailed instructions to the pastors how to deal with people who wish for a victory of the Turks. They must be convinced that this was treason, complicity in the wickedness of the Turks, and contrary to their own interests. If the Turks were to become their lords they would be enslaved. In a sermon published shortly afterwards as a tract, however, Luther pointed out that a Christian who had fallen into the servitude of the Turks, and had been sold as a slave, should not try to escape because his master was now the rightful owner of his body, and an escape would be against the duty of a Christian to suffer what God had sent, and to be loyal to his master.

The waging of war was a matter for the Emperor. But the temporal rulers should not wage war for the sake of religion, nor from lust of prestige, glory, conquest or treasure. As long as the Turks do not attack us let them believe what they like, and live as they like, just as the Popes and the false Christians do. Against aggression, however, the Emperor and the princes owe protection to their subjects. Whether the Emperor is able to under-

take so great a venture, considering the open or secret enmity of so many kings and princes, Luther can not say. He is very sceptical in regard to the Empire. It seems to him near its end, and this confirms him in the belief that the Last Judgment and Christ's advent are approaching. He, nevertheless, admonishes the princes to support the Emperor in his war with the Turks. But in this case a sufficient force must be raised and the poor people not be sacrificed in vain. The Turk is a much more formidable enemy than France, Venice or the Pope. He can easily raise three or four hundred thousand men. The whole of Europe is hardly a match for him. Luther is deeply grieved that the Reichstag of Speyer had time for questions of etiquette, and for other foolish matters, but not for the Turkish menace. Luther ends on a note of pessimism which was only too well-justified by the events.

THE EMPEROR, THE REICHSTAG AND THE PROTESTANTS

WHILE the new faith was making progress in Germany Charles V was involved in war with France in Italy. Pope Clement VII was more concerned to prevent the Emperor from establishing his preponderance in Italy than to support him against the Lutherans. The battle of Pavia (1525) was a great triumph for the Emperor and the French King was made his prisoner. But the Sultan overran Hungary and threatened the Empire. This induced the Estates of the Bohemian and Hungarian countries to elect Ferdinand of Austria, the Emperor's brother, their king. At last peace with France was restored, and in 1530 the Pope crowned Charles at Bologna. It was the last time that this ceremony took place. At the coronation Charles was surrounded by Spanish grandees and Italian princes, but, with one unimportant exception, all the German princes were absent.

The Emperor now made up his mind to settle the religious strife in Germany, to maintain the unity of the Church, but also to provide for her reform by a general council. But the Pope hated the idea of such an ecclesiastical parliament which might restrict his power. France and other powers were also opposed to it. The German reformers disliked it because they feared it would be entirely dominated by the Pope. They would have preferred a German national council. But this was unacceptable both to the Pope and to the Emperor.

The foundations of the Emperor's power were very insecure, mainly owing to his constant lack of money. Neither the French King nor the Pope acquiesced in his triumph and the German princes were greatly disquieted by it. Some of them were prepared to co-operate with every enemy of the Habsburgs, even the Sultan. Particularly jealous of the Habsburgs were the Catholic

Dukes of Bavaria who coveted the crowns of Bohemia, Hungary and Germany for their own House. Many princes increased their power by seizing lands of the Church and espoused the cause of the Reformation. During the Emperor's absence the Reichstag was unable to make any progress with the settlement of the religious strife. In 1529 the Lutherans protested against any decision of religious questions by a majority vote, and this protestation was signed by five princes and sixteen towns. The great majority in the Reichstag was Catholic, owing to the large number of ecclesiastical princes. The protestation of the Lutherans gave rise to the name of Protestants for the adherents of the new faith.

The Emperor, after an absence of nine years, at last appeared in Germany and in 1530 the Reichstag assembled in Augsburg. The outspoken Protestant party consisted of the rulers of electoral Saxony, Hesse and the small principalities of Anhalt, Anspach and Lueneburg, and of six Free Towns. These were the Estates who signed the fundamental declarations of the Protestants, though the number of sympathisers was greater. At the end of the Reichstag fourteen towns joined the opposition against the final enactment proposed by the Catholics. Both parties had brought their principal theological and legal advisers with them. But Luther was absent. Since the Reichstag of Worms he was under the Emperor's ban, and therefore stayed at the Saxon castle of Koburg. The defence of the Protestant cause lay in the hands of Melanchthon who had elaborated an apology, later called the Augsburg Confession. He had done so in consultation with Luther, who had also approved the final text, though he found the mild tone not to his taste. Melanchthon was deeply disturbed by the menace of a religious war if a settlement should fail, and he cherished the idea of a reconciliation with the old Church. The growth of the Zwinglian party caused him particular anxieties, and confirmed him in his wish for peace with Rome. With this purpose he had in the text of the Confession avoided everything which might have provoked the Catholics. Many points of discord had been toned down or were not even mentioned. The wish for peace was shared by an influential section among the Catholics, though there was also an intransigent fraction which wanted the use of force against the Protestants. Luther, however, disbelieved in the risk of a religious war. In his view Emperor and Reichstag would not dare to go as far because it would unleash a social revolution. The spirit of Thomas Muenzer, he said, was still alive. The counsellors of the Emperor were strongly under the influence of Erasmus' spirit.

The Augsburg confession was read before the Reichstag, and the Emperor received a Latin translation as he did not understand German. The Catholics replied in a memorandum called *Refutation*, and the Protestants answered it in a further apology. Four towns sympathising with the Swiss creed submitted a separate Confession. Melanchthon then entered into negotiations with the Papal Nuncio Campeggi, in which he showed himself willing to make great concessions to the Roman Church. He would even have recognised the authority of the Pope and the bishops in return for the Communion in both kinds and permission for the priests to marry, at least till the Council had decided. These two demands seemed acceptable to the committee of the Catholic majority, and to the Papal Legate. A commission of Catholic and Protestant experts further discussed the controversial questions of belief, such as Justification, the Mass etc. and here also a large measure of agreement was reached. In the question of the secularised lands of the Church, too, a compromise seemed possible. The real difficulties were questions connected with the hierarchic constitution of the Church, in particular the power of the Papacy. The Pope was also most reluctant to concede a Council, except on conditions securing his control over it. But at last the intransigents on both sides got the upper hand, and foiled all efforts at a compromise.

The failure of Charles V's plans had, however, deeper causes than lack of good will on one side or the other. The Protestant movement had developed far beyond the phase where theologians and diplomats by means of subtle formulas might have reunited the warring creeds. It had become a mass movement which could hardly have been controlled by arguments of religion or reason. Luther, who alone perhaps would have had the power, had for years inflamed mass passions against the Antichrist in Rome, and could not retrace his course. But the Pope, too, was not able to make a new beginning. Religion was everywhere intimately mixed up with politics, in both the Catholic and the Protestant camps. In many territories the princes had already become the practical heads of the Church. A peace between Catholics and Protestants would certainly have been in the interests of religion. But it would also have increased the power of the Emperor, and this was most undesirable to the princes, the Pope and the foreign powers, especially France.

The religious pacification which the Emperor had tried to achieve, and to which he had devoted all his efforts, failed. He tried to intimidate the Protestants by threatening words. But using

force against them was not practicable as the dangerous foreign situation, especially the Turkish menace, compelled the Emperor to appeal to them for support. He instructed the Imperial Attorney at the High Court, the Reichskammergericht, to open legal proceedings against those who had appropriated ecclesiastical estates. In the following years, however, this policy too had to be gradually abandoned because the external situation repeatedly forced Charles V to ask the Protestants for military aid. Under the Emperor's pressure the Pope gave his consent to a general council, but with such reluctance and under such conditions that the participation of the Protestants could not be expected.

After the Reichstag the Protestants concluded an alliance of princes and towns for common defence, called the league of Schmalkalden. In its council the princes had five votes and the towns four. The most energetic and aggressive leader of the League was Landgrave Philip of Hesse, while the Electors of Saxony, Johann and his successor Johann Friedrich, stood for peace with the Emperor and loyalty to him. The League nevertheless assumed a character hostile to the Habsburgs. Together with Catholic Bavaria it opposed the election of Charles' brother Ferdinand to the dignity of German King, though it could not prevent it. Further under Philip's inspiration it soon established contact with all the foreign enemies of the Habsburgs.

This internal discord in Germany contributed to Sultan Suleiman's resolution to make a new attempt to conquer the Empire. In 1532 he led a great army towards the West. Philip of Hesse wanted to make use of the Turkish assault for his own warlike purposes against the Emperor, but Saxony vetoed this. The Emperor made a provisional peace with the Protestants, the legal proceedings against them were suspended and they voted supplies for defence. He went to Vienna to command the troops raised. But the Sultan had bad luck again, and after some minor operations withdrew to turn his forces against the East, especially against Persia. The Emperor did not use the opportunity for liberating Hungary but hurried to Italy and Spain. The German contingents, moreover, declared that they were there only to defend the German frontiers and declined to serve in Hungary.

The Habsburg power received a severe blow through the dissolution of the Swabian League owing to the progress of Protestantism among its members. Its end enabled Philip of Hesse in 1534 with French support forcibly to restore Duke Ulrich of Württemberg, who for his misdeeds had been banned and whose country was in Austrian hands. King Ferdinand had to accept this humili-

ation. The Duke made Wurttemberg a Protestant country. The Estates and the upper classes which were largely for the Habsburgs were not asked. But the common people were enthusiastic for the Duke, though he had formerly shown himself a cruel tyrant.

Charles V was absent from Germany for a further nine years. He left the governance of his dominions to deputies, mainly relatives of his, and wanted to devote all his forces to what he regarded as the greatest interests of the whole of Christianity—the liberation of the Occident from the Turkish menace, and the convening of a General Council to heal the split in the Church and to reform her. Pope Paul III consented to the plan for a council, provided it was held in Italy under his control; he encouraged the reform party at his court, and made its leaders cardinals. Yet the General Council had to be postponed again and again for political reasons. Nor could the Emperor's plan, to unite all the Christian powers for a war against the Ottoman power, be realised. Francis I of France renewed his claims to Italian territories, and made an alliance with the Sultan which scandalised Christian public opinion. The Corsair states of Barbary, vassals of the Sultan, ravaged the coasts of Italy and carried off many Christians as slaves. The Emperor had therefore to wage war not only in various parts of Europe, but also in North Africa. At last in 1538 the King and the Emperor concluded a ten-year armistice and even seemed to become close friends. Francis I proposed to Charles V to make war against England, and to partition her between them and Scotland, but the Emperor refused.

Protestantism was making further rapid progress in Germany. Princes who had clung to the old faith died, and their successors decided for the new one. Its most fiery adherents were the middle and lower classes in the towns while the rich patricians were reluctant, many counsellors of princes and a great section of the knights, too, were for the new faith, and sometimes even prelates went over to it. When Duke Heinrich of Brunswick threatened the Protestant town of Goslar which was under the ban of the Empire, the Protestant league attacked and defeated him, and made the new faith dominant in his country.

In 1541 Charles V attended the Reichstag, and appeased the Protestants by concessions, but then hurried to Italy and to Algiers. Two years later he returned to Germany where he was now to stay for ten years, almost until the end of his reign. Francis I and Suleiman II renewed their wars against him. In

his counter-offensive against France (1543) Charles first defeated the Duke of Juelich-Kleve, an ally of the French, and then marched without much fighting as far as Chateau Thierry, not far from Paris. The peace of Crespy tried to settle the conflicts with France by a dynastic marriage as the Emperor had already proposed before. The second son of the French king, the Duke of Orleans, was to marry either the Emperor's daughter Maria, and to receive as an imperial fief the Netherlands and the county of Burgundy, or a niece of his and receive Milan. But this plan failed as the Duke died shortly afterwards. The war against the Turks was not successful. The Sultan retained Hungary and had to be paid an annual tribute by King Ferdinand.

All this time the Emperor had also pursued his plan of a religious pacification. In 1540 began a series of disputations between Catholics and Protestants designed to bring about a rapprochement. The papal Legate Gasparo Contarini was an outstanding advocate of reforms and reconciliation in a spirit of a broadminded Christian brotherhood. The disputations led to a far-reaching understanding on questions of fundamental importance, though in certain other points no agreement was reached, particularly in questions relating to the hierarchy. The Emperor suggested that the agreed questions should be accepted by both sides, and that in regard to the others there should be toleration. But Luther rejected this proposal and the Pope also refused his consent. In Luther's opinion the conciliatory attitude of the papists was merely a trick of Satan. A principal cause of the failure was that the enemies of the Emperor, such as Francis I and the Duke of Bavaria, used all their influence to frustrate a religious peace which would have strengthened the Emperor's position. The Pope too was on the French side.

Yet the Emperor's position suddenly improved. Hitherto his worst enemy had been Landgrave Philip of Hesse. But Philip, though married, wanted to take a second wife and he induced Luther, Melanchthon and Bucer to declare that this was not forbidden in the Bible. They did so largely because the prince threatened that he would else apply to the Emperor and the Pope, which meant deserting the Protestant cause. But bigamy was definitely forbidden by the criminal law of the Empire, and Philip feared a judicial trial. To avoid this he endeavoured to curry favour with the Emperor and supported him in various ways against the Protestants. The Emperor also won other Protestant princes by granting them favours.

As all efforts to bring about a pacification by means of a

compromise had failed, a decision by the force of arms seemed the only way left. On both sides the intransigents had the preponderant influence. Luther near the end of his life became more fanatical than ever. His last writings contain ravings of ghastly brutality against the Papacy, the Zwinglians and the Jews.

Germany, at that time, seemed to become an almost entirely Protestant country. Of the six Electorates Saxony and Brandenburg were already Protestant, the Electors of Cologne and the Palatinate were just on the point of joining them, and the Elector of Mayence seemed to follow them. The only bulwark of Catholicism was Bavaria, but her leading statesman Leonard von Eck was one of the worst enemies of the Habsburgs. The rapid transformation of Germany into a Protestant country seriously threatened the whole position of the Habsburgs. Yet the Emperor came to the conclusion that the Protestant League was weakened by internal rivalries, and could be subdued. He long wavered whether he should wage war against it, or not. What tipped the scale in favour of war was the fact that the Protestants had made up their mind not to attend the Council which the Pope after long procrastination had now definitely called, and not to submit to its decisions.

In the spring of 1546 the moment arrived when the international situation gave the Emperor a free hand. The Pope promised considerable military and financial aid. William of Bavaria, Maurice of Saxony, Joachim of Brandenburg and other princes were won, by great promises, either for neutrality or for active assistance. The Emperor's Protestant allies were also assured by him that in certain points which they considered fundamental he would not demand that they should submit to the Council. The Emperor further laid great stress upon avoiding the impression that he was waging war for religious reasons, and asserted that he wanted only to restore his lawful authority, and to punish breaches of internal peace. It was not the Emperor's intention to establish a despotic and centralised regime. But he certainly wished to increase his power and possibly to make the imperial dignity hereditary in his House.

Shortly before the outbreak of the civil war, in the night of February seventeenth 1546 Martin Luther died in his birthplace Eisleben, a little over seven-two years old. In his last years he was tormented by painful illness, but also by despair of the world which made him wish for his death.

Luther's personality was so many-sided and embraced such a strange combination of apparently incompatible features that he

will always evade the attempt to characterise him in brief. In former times his followers extolled him as a prophet sent by God, and his adversaries denounced him as a demon. In the time of enlightenment Frederick the Great called him a raving monk and barbarous writer. Others, though not blind to his flaws, praised him as a genius and hero, or as the principal originator of German greatness. In our age distinguished Protestant theologians have described him as a predominantly medieval figure. Yet he showed also features which are surprisingly modern. Beyond such time-bound classifications, however, was his vision of the greatness of the Divine and of the smallness of man—how beggarly were all the things of which human vanity was boasting!

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THE CIVIL WAR, THE RELIGIOUS PEACE AND ITS EFFECT

THE change in the Emperor's attitude came to most Protestants as a surprise. They were much better prepared for war than he and possessed a very strong strategic position. The Emperor had first to hire mercenaries, and to await the arrival of auxiliaries from the Pope and other allies. When the two armies were assembled they were of about equal strength. More than half of the imperial troops consisted of Spaniards and Italians though Charles V at his election had had to pledge himself not to bring foreign troops to Germany. Charles V now put John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse under the ban of the Empire, and these declared that he had violated his oath and the conditions under which they owed him obeisance.

The impending clash between the Emperor and his adversaries aroused an outburst of feelings such as Germany had not known since the first years of the Reformation. The Protestants claimed that they fought for the Gospel, but also for national and political independence. A popular song defiantly declared that no Walloon or Spaniard should govern Germany. But a song from the opposite camp exclaimed: 'God be praised, the Spaniards are here!' A long-winded poem evoked the memory of famous Germans who fought against the yoke of Rome, such as Ariovist, Arminius, Frederick Barbarossa and Georg Fundsberg. In a pamphlet the Emperor was charged with planning to establish a hereditary monarchy, and to enslave the Empire. Another imputed to him the intention to exterminate all the Evangelicals except children up to two years of age.

The course of the war showed that the Emperor had been right in reckoning upon the lack of solidarity and the rivalries

amongst his enemies. Their troops, moreover, were mostly composed of mercenaries who showed no religious zeal, but deserted when their wages were not properly paid. Many Protestant princes were either allied with the Emperor or neutral. Duke Maurice of Saxony who had only promised neutrality actively joined Charles and was to get as reward the dignity and lands of his cousin, the Elector of Saxony. This forced the Protestant army to withdraw to the north, and to leave the Free Towns of South Germany alone. These began to waver, they were reluctant to spend more money on the war, and their commercial interests spoke for peace. The great patrician bankers and merchants supported the peace party while the democratic artisans, instigated by the preachers, stood for continuing the war. At last the peace party got the upper hand, the towns submitted to the Emperor, had to pay him high contributions and were promised free exercise of their religion. In other respects too Charles showed moderation. His brother Ferdinand was not permitted to reconquer Wurttemberg, and the Duke had only to pay a contribution.

In Cologne the Elector Archbishop who had become a Protestant was forced to resign, and Cologne now became a bulwark of Catholicism again. At last also the princes who still resisted were defeated. Elector John Frederick of Saxony, and later also Philip of Hesse, were made prisoners. The Free Towns of Lower Saxony alone continued the war but later submitted, except Magdeburg. The Bohemian Estates and towns which had revolted against Ferdinand were severely punished.

Charles now seemed to be at the summit of power. But the very prospect induced the Pope to turn against him as so many Popes had done before when an emperor was becoming too powerful. The papal troops were withdrawn even before the final decision; the fact that the Emperor granted the Protestants religious toleration and did not force them to submit to the Council of Trent served as a pretext. The Council became the scene of fierce antagonism between the representatives of the Pope and the Emperor. The latter wanted to keep the Council open to the Protestants, and therefore opposed the settlement of dogmatic questions before the Protestants were present. In his view the Council should begin with purging the Church from abuses. The papal party at last removed the Assembly to Bologna, a town of the Pope. But the Emperor protested and the Spanish bishops remained in Trent in defiance of the Pope.

Contrary to the apprehensions of the Protestants Charles abstained from any persecution of their creed. But he proposed

to the Reichstag of Augsburg (1547-48) that they should submit to the decisions of the Council, and this was generally accepted. Then he categorically demanded from Rome that the Council should return to Trent as in Bologna it was not free, but subject to the will of the Pope. He further wanted to create in Germany an efficient executive power by means of a voluntary League of princes and towns on the model of the former Swabian League. But the Estates showed themselves very unwilling to consent to burdens in the common interest, and the rulers of the larger territories were opposed to any measure likely to strengthen the central authority. The main enemy of the Emperor's plan was again the Bavarian Chancellor Eck, who succeeded in foiling it. The Reichstag, however, voted some measures for the better protection of internal and external peace. The Netherlands and Burgundy were to form the Burgundian Circle of the Empire, but to be exempt from its laws and judicature. Yet the Empire was obliged to defend them, for which they had to pay certain contributions, whenever a levy for war was voted by the Reichstag. Germany thereby was expected to defend territories which shortly later were transferred to the Spanish Habsburgs, and would thereby have been permanently involved in the Spanish rivalry with France. Maurice of Saxony received the Electorate which the Emperor had promised him.

Charles V lastly proposed the conclusion of a provisional peace between the two great religious parties, subject to the final settlement by the Council. But the Council was then in a rather parlous state, and the provisional peace, named the Interim, was likely to last. A compromise was therefore to be worked out by agreement between Catholics and Protestants. For this purpose the Emperor first invited the Reichstag to nominate deputies but most Estates asked him to do this himself. Charles appointed three theologians representing the principal sections of opinion: Bishop Michael Helding for the orthodox Catholics, Johann Agricola, court preacher to the Elector of Brandenburg, for the Protestants, and Bishop Julius von Pflug, who was a follower of Erasmus and an ardent advocate of reforms and tolerance. The result of their deliberations was mainly the work of Pflug. The Interim made substantial concessions to the Protestant views in the two cardinal dogmatic points, those of Justification and the concept of the Mass, it further permitted communion in both forms, and existing marriages of priests. In most other respects it adopted the Catholic beliefs, such as the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, the invocation of the Virgin and the

saints, fasting, processions and other ceremonies. Certain controversial points e.g. purgatory, were passed over in silence, and nothing was said of the lands of the Church, which the Protestants had seized. The Emperor would have gone still farther in satisfying the latter, in order to win their support against the Pope. The Protestant Electors of the Palatinate and Brandenburg assisted him, and the Protestant rulers of Electoral Saxony and Hesse, too, made no difficulties. But Eck again instigated demands, which fanned the smouldering fire of Protestant intransigence. The Emperor further made proposals to abolish abuses in the Church and to improve the morals and discipline of the clergy, and he induced the Catholic ecclesiastical Estates to accept them.

The Interim pleased neither the Protestants nor the Catholics, but was ratified with certain modifications. Its introduction as law in the individual territories aroused great opposition. After long discussions, however, it was in many Protestant territories ratified though with modifications in the Protestant sense. The Emperor further forced Augsburg, Ulm and other South German towns to change the composition of their town councils. The representation of the patricians, the rich merchants and bankers, was increased and that of the artisans was decreased. Magdeburg absolutely refused to accept the Interim and was therefore put under the ban of the Empire. The new Elector Maurice was entrusted with its execution.

Charles' bold policy of healing the cancer of religious strife without and even despite the Pope seemed to succeed. Melancthon, though aggrieved by the Interim, worked again for conciliation, and helped to give its main points legal force in Saxony. In a private letter he also said that Luther had kept him in a hateful servitude and had often acted more out of his ingrained pugnacity than with regard for his dignity and the common interest. Bugenhagen, Cruciger and other prominent Lutheran theologians also advocated peace. But others offered the fiercest opposition, in particular Matthias Flacich, called Flacius Illyricus, a young, learned and fiery professor at Wittenberg, of Southern-Slav origin. He had to leave his post and became the wildest enemy of any dilution of Lutheran orthodoxy. Other theologians too had to resign, and many went into exile, among them Bucer who became professor in Cambridge and exercised much influence on the further development of Protestant doctrine in England. The main seat of the intransigents was Magdeburg where Amsdorf and Flacius organised a relentless propaganda campaign against the Interim, the Emperor and the Protestant advocates of moder-

ation. A flood of violent pamphlets, effective popular songs and satirical cartoons, was spread from Magdeburg over large parts of Germany.

The position of the Emperor was further threatened by new intrigues of Pope Paul III and by dissensions with his brother Ferdinand. Charles wanted to secure the imperial crown after Ferdinand to his own son Philip, besides the crowns of Spain, Italy and the Netherlands. At last a compromise was reached providing that the Emperorship should alternate between the Spanish and the German branch of the Habsburgs. But news of this family conflict leaked out, and it aggravated the widespread feeling against the Spanish regime in Germany. The Emperor was surrounded by Spaniards, was little accessible to Germans and continued to keep Spanish troops in Germany.

In 1549 Pope Paul III died, and his successor Julius III complied with the Emperor's wish for the reopening of the Council of Trent, and the admission of the Protestants, (1551). A number of Protestant theologians actually appeared, among them the representatives of the Churches of Brandenburg, Saxony, Wurttemberg and Strassburg. Melancthon, too, was willing to come, but events hindered him from making the journey. The Council had, however, already taken the course which the Emperor had wanted to prevent, namely the laying down of dogmas and principles which the Protestants could not be expected to accept. Their spokesmen therefore restricted themselves to lodging protests and to submitting statements of their faith. For the Emperor it was a terrible disappointment.

The growth of the Emperor's power disturbed both Protestant and Catholic princes, who tried to join forces, and to win the support of foreign powers against him. These strivings found an able and unscrupulous leader in Maurice of Saxony, who was also offended by the fact that Charles still kept in confinement his father-in-law, Philip of Hesse. Maurice formed a group of princes and secured financial and military aid from Henry II of France to whom the princes offered the German crown. They consented that he should occupy as 'Vicar of the Empire' a number of towns which were not of the German language, such as Cambrai, Metz, Toul and Verdun, without prejudice to the rights of the Empire. But they refused the King's demand that he should also become the 'protector' of the German ecclesiastical territories which they coveted themselves. They were very willing, however, to accept him as the protector of 'German liberty' against the 'beastly', insupportable and permanent 'servitude' which the

Emperor in their view had imposed upon Germany. The French King proclaimed that he undertook the war against the Emperor merely to defend German liberty, not for his own profit. Actually he wished to gain as much as possible of all the lands up to the Rhine, irrespective of language. In 1552 he began to invade the western frontier territories of the Empire, and Belgium, while its eastern parts were threatened by a new advance of the Turks, and in Italy the old struggle revived between the partisans of the Emperor and those of the King of France.

Maurice and his German allies had in the meantime made their preparations and marched on the Tyrol where the Emperor was staying. Charles had neither troops nor money, and only with great difficulty escaped the fate of being captured. Peace was eventually concluded at Passau through Ferdinand's mediation. A state of peace was also established between Protestants and Catholics, the Lutherans could freely exercise their religion, and the Interim was waived. The final settlement was left to the Reichstag. The Emperor now turned against the French and besieged Metz, but failed. Henry II invaded Belgium and the war continued for several years. Maurice went eastward with troops to stem the Turkish onslaught. But soon he conspired again against Charles, even with the Turks. Henry II was once more offered the German crown. The Emperor made a further attempt to found a League of Estates to secure internal peace, but in vain.

The victory of 'German liberty' over the Emperor's striving for an effective central authority inflicted on Germany terrible sufferings. One of the rebels against Charles had been Margrave Albrecht Alcibiades, a scion of the Hohenzollern family. He was a warrior whose greatest lust was killing, burning and looting. A councillor of King Ferdinand once called him 'a monstrous, crazy, wild beast.' As a condottiere he had served the Emperor, and then the French King. Now he resolved to wage war 'against the papists' on his own account, and ruthlessly attacked not only the Franconian Bishops, but also the Protestant town of Nuremberg, ravaging their lands with fire and sword. Charles V first seemed willing to protect his victims, but then left them in the lurch and engaged Albrecht for service against France. Soon, however, the Margrave was again waging wild feuds within Germany, using slogans against popery to win public opinion. But his doings made many princes his enemies. In 1553 he was defeated by Maurice who, however, fell in the battle. The High Court outlawed him, and after a further defeat he fled to

France where he spent the rest of his life. In his later life he repented his misdeeds, became a pious Christian, and wrote a hymn which became a favourite in Protestant churches.

The Emperor had now abandoned all hope of realising his aims in Germany. Nor was he willing to submit to a settlement contrary to his religious convictions. Since Maurice's betrayal he refused to see any German; he withdrew from German affairs and gave his brother King Ferdinand full powers to deal with them. His policy was now turned towards England, and brought about the marriage between Queen Mary and his son Philip (1554). England seemed to be won back for the Catholic faith. Philip on this occasion received the Spanish possessions in Italy and the title of King of Naples. The following year the Emperor conferred on him the government of the Netherlands, and in 1556 also that of Spain. His last years were spent in retirement at St. Yuste in Spain. Ferdinand became Emperor in 1558, and a few months later Charles died.

The Reichstag of Augsburg in 1555 passed an Act known as the Religious Pacification. It laid down that the two great denominations, the old religion and the Augsburg Confession, should enjoy equal peace and security. The great majority excluded the Calvinists from the term Augsburg Confession though Calvin had signed its revised text. Sects were definitely excluded. Religious freedom was, however, only conceded to Estates, i.e. princes and Free Towns, and to the Free Knights. Subjects received only the right to emigrate and to settle elsewhere, if they felt oppressed because of their religion. They could sell their property, pay the customary fees for taking their money or belongings abroad, or for leaving the place where they were serfs and might seek a new home together with their families. In the Austrian lands, however, they were not to enjoy this right. In most parts of Germany emigrants could easily find a territory of their faith not far off. Emigration was therefore usually not such a hardship as the word suggests to us now. It was merely a change of residence within Germany. That clause implied that the ruler could prescribe what religion his subjects might profess. In the negotiations the envoy of Frederick II of the Palatinate had proposed general toleration also for subjects. But this idea had no chance of being accepted. According to the general conviction of the time the ruler had the right and the duty to forbid false religious beliefs and practices. We may remember the frequent religious changes and persecutions decreed from above in England under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. Much

depended, of course, on how this prerogative was used. Among the very large number of German rulers there were always fanatical, tolerant and indifferent ones, and there were always territories where the rule was not strictly enforced. The right of the subject to emigrate with his belongings at least protected him against the worst, provided he was not an anabaptist. It was further provided that in Free Towns of mixed religion both denominations should continue to live side by side, and should retain their rights according to the status quo. The Protestants might keep the ecclesiastical estates which they had seized up to the Peace of Passau, and expropriate others in their lands, though not such as belonged to another ruler. A clause of the Religious Peace, called the 'Ecclesiastical Reservation' stipulated that Catholic bishops and prelates wanting to become Protestants should resign as rulers. Further, King Ferdinand made a secret 'Declaration' which was not incorporated in the Peace, promising that Catholic ecclesiastical rulers should not interfere with the religion of subjects who had already been Lutherans for some time. This declaration would therefore have granted toleration in ecclesiastical principalities, except to recent and future converts to Lutheranism. The Reservation would have prevented the Protestantizing of further ecclesiastical territories. But the Protestants declared the Reservation as not valid because they had not consented, and it had in their view not been passed in a strictly constitutional way. On the other hand, the Catholics rejected the Declaration on similar grounds, but insisted on the legal validity of the Reservation. These questions were later to become the subjects of endless protests and discussions at the Reichstag.

In spite of many defects the Religious Peace was a considerable step on the road towards religious equality and toleration. In close connection were two other reforms enacted at the same Reichstag, one concerning the better organisation of the High Court, the Reichskammergericht, for which now also Protestants were made eligible as assessors, and another concerning the execution of its judgments and the protection of the public peace. The executive power remained in the hands of the Circles. In major cases of disorder or foreign aggression those Circles which were threatened were to co-operate. The Emperor was deprived of all influence on this organisation. Its forces were designed to form a sort of home guard, and not an instrument of power politics. The Netherlands were not to be entitled to the protection of the Empire as long as they did not recognise the

judicature of its High Court.

Ferdinand I reigned as emperor from 1556 to 1564, and was followed by his son Maximilian II (1564-76). The imperial authority was at a very low ebb, and the emperors were mainly engaged in the affairs of their own territories. As France and other neighbours were fully occupied with civil and other wars Germany on the whole enjoyed peace. To the east, however, the Empire was hard pressed by the Turks, who could only be restrained with great difficulty and on humiliating terms. The Emperors maintained close family relations with the Spanish Habsburgs, but were by no means willing to subordinate themselves to Spanish interests, or to get involved in Spanish world politics. In the Habsburg territories the Diets of the Estates were very powerful, and more or less leaned to Protestantism. Ferdinand therefore made great efforts to induce the Pope to grant the Protestants substantial concessions in order to win them. Pope Pius IV tried to do so, and sent two Bishops as ambassadors to a congress of the Protestant princes. The Legates made conciliatory speeches and handed the princes a letter from the Pope. But the letter was at once returned unopened. Maximilian II went still farther than his father in appeasing the Protestants. In his youth he had been prevented only by great pressure from his father from becoming a Protestant himself. He later did what he could to grant toleration, and to maintain peaceful conditions between the two creeds. But Ferdinand had also called the Jesuits to Austria, mainly in order to reform the Catholic clergy which had largely sunk to a low religious level. The Counter-Reformation got into its stride.

CALVIN AND THE REFORMED CHURCH

IN the last years of Luther's life two movements developed, which were to have the greatest influence on the further course of the Reformation, namely Calvinism and Jesuitism. Jean Cauvin, latinised Calvinus, (1509-64) was born in Northern France, and studied the law and the humanities. Luther's teaching deeply impressed him, and he experienced a sudden conversion estranging him from the Roman Church. This compelled him to leave France and in 1536 he published in Basle a textbook of his theology which was later much expanded and made him famous. From 1536 to 1538 he lived in Geneva, was then expelled and settled in Strassburg. In 1541 he was recalled to Geneva and created there a Church which soon became a world power in religion and politics.

In matters of doctrine Calvin mostly agreed with Luther and in such of rites and discipline with Zwingli. His only essential dogmatic difference from them was his concept of the Lord's Supper, in which he took a middle way between their beliefs. Luther taught that it led to an inspiring and consoling union of the communicant with Christ, which belief Calvin accepted. But he rejected Luther's idea of a corporeal, though invisible, presence of Christ in the Eucharist, as well as Zwingli's view that it was merely a symbol commemorating Christ's last supper. In Calvin's view there was a real, but spiritual, union. His formula was accepted by Zwingli's successor, Pastor Bullinger of Zurich, but aroused the fiercest opposition of the orthodox Lutherans. In all the other points Calvin did not fundamentally deviate from Luther. But he laid much more stress than he on the law of God, while Luther emphasised His love. In organising the

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Church, however, Calvin and Luther applied very different principles.

In religious genius and learning the two reformers were equals, but their personalities exhibited great divergencies. Luther always showed the traces of his peasant origin and of his youth spent in a monastery. In the Scriptures it was Christ alone which seemed to him essential, and he judged every part of them on the criterion whether it led to Christ or not. In certain points Luther clung more to Catholic traditions than he was willing to admit. God was to him the loving, merciful father, and the prime source of his faith was the New Testament. Calvin came from an influential, bourgeois family, and throughout his life showed a preference for a cultivated, aristocratic society. Humanism and the Roman Law exercised a lasting influence in forming his mind, though he rejected the pagan tendencies in humanism. He was an intellectualist and legalist, surpassing Luther in the clear, logical exposition of his thought, but less than he actuated by his heart and imagination. The Old Testament impressed him often more than the Gospels, and he maintained that Christ had only restored the purity of the teaching of Moses and the prophets. Christ's word that we should love our enemies he expressly rejected since David had taught to hate them. Much more than Luther, Calvin held that the whole Bible was literally dictated by the Holy Spirit, even its cruelties, which seemed to be quite opposed to the spirit of Christ. Calvin admitted, however, that minor precepts had been given to the Jews only. God appeared to him primarily as the majestic ruler of the universe, and the stern judge, who had created the world for his own glorification, and to this end had elected some for salvation, but had predestined the others for eternal damnation. True, Calvin also often stressed God's love and fatherhood, and Luther also pondered upon the terrifying God who had predetermined everything, admitting evil and sin for his own glory or for plans inscrutable to us. Yet in spite of such parallels the images of God predominant in the writings of the two reformers differ. Modern experts in Calvin's theology have tried to soften the contrast by pointing out that sometimes the same word was employed by them in slightly differing senses. But we cannot enter here into subtleties.

The contrasts between their historic rôle become particularly marked in the field of morality. Luther's conviction was that the main virtues of a Christian were humble submission to God's will, patient bearing of the cross, and the firm trust that God would

lead everything to the best end. Christ's warning not to resist evil was taken seriously by him. Outward actions seemed to him no proof of a pious heart, and he did not believe that the Church or the State could enforce true faith and love by decrees and punishments. In Luther's view this could only spread hypocritical self-righteousness, or pharisaism. Calvin, however, inspired his disciples with the belief that God wanted to realise his plans through their actions, and that success or failure in living up to this task was at least a sign whether they belonged to the elect or not. Church and State were to regulate and supervise the whole life of a Christian and rigorously suppress any licence. Had not God in the Old Testament elected the Jews to be a holy people? Should not the Church become a community organised and guided on this model?

Towards the Roman Church Calvin was filled with still greater hatred than Luther. The latter attacked mainly its hierarchy and beliefs serving the interests of the Papacy. But he was lenient to rites and usages dear to the people, short of obvious superstition. Calvin, however, regarded every rite or usage for which there was no precedent in the Scriptures as a damnable snare of Satan. Even celebrating Christmas was rejected. He contemptuously dismissed also the opinions of even the greatest Church Fathers whenever he disagreed with them. Worship was radically purged of everything reminiscent of the usages of the Romish Church, or differentiating the clergy from the laity, or appealing to the senses. Altars, priestly vestments, images, statues, and instrumental music were banned, and service was to consist mainly of a sermon, common prayer and the reciting of psalms. Church going and frequent communion were obligatory. Religious life was dominated by the intellect. That great art might help in elevating and ennobling the mind was ignored. If the Bible stated that the Jews praised God with instrumental music, with timbrel and harp, Calvin knew better. This was only a concession by God to their immaturity. Where Calvinism gained a wider following first the churches were stormed by a mob destroying the art treasures in a vandalic way. Calvinism, however, appealed primarily to the learned and educated classes, not to the masses, which were more or less converted later, not always by purely religious motives. Even in Geneva Catholicism had long a strong hold on wide circles of the people, especially women and the peasants. The latter remembered that under the regime of the bishops they had paid lower dues. Already before Calvin came to power himself, his forerunners had begun to convert the

people by compulsion. Compliance with the new beliefs and rites was enforced on pain of exile.

Calvin's attitude to the State and politics was much more positive than that of Luther, and unlike the latter he was a great organiser. Luther was dominated by Christ's word that his kingdom was not of this world. Calvin took the theocracy of the Old Testament as his model, and as a humanist he may have imbibed the doctrine of the ancient world that the State was an organism with unlimited rights over the individuals. This view implying a separate State morality, the Reason of State, was utterly incompatible with the Christian ethos, but it might be combined with the doctrine of a Chosen People with a special mission from God. Later actions of certain Calvinistic puritans, their record as colonisers, slave traders, and exterminators of backward races was not seldom defended with this biblical argument. In Luther's eyes government was merely a necessary evil. True Christians would not need a State at all. He liked to compare a prince to a hangman who was there to restrain the wicked from oppressing the others. Good princes, he pointed out, were very rare. In any case the secular government must not meddle in religion. Luther reluctantly had to change this view, compelled by the rise of the radicals, but he never believed that a government could do much good in spiritual things. The idea of modern nationalism that the national State was a value by itself, and even the supreme value, was entirely alien to Luther's thought, and would have appeared to him as diabolical. Calvin considered the right State as the work of God, and therefore as sacred and venerable. God alone was the sovereign and the government His representative. It had to carry out God's will as revealed in the Bible, and had to consult the pastors versed in its interpretation. The Church was therefore to have decisive power, at least factually, if not legally. This idea had great similarity with the outlook of Gregory VII. In Calvin's view further the State was not primarily designed to serve the interests of the people which was not the sovereign. The principal aim was to defend the honour of God against idolatry, blasphemy and violation of his commands. In pursuit of these aims even cruel punishments were justified. Calvin declared that it was a lesser evil if an innocent person was convicted than if a culpable one was acquitted. Luther had put forward the opposite opinion.

As regards the best form of the State both reformers agreed that this depended on the conditions of the country. They equally

distrusted princes and the masses, and denied to the people any right of active resistance to orders of the ruler. Even the worst government was better than anarchy. On the other hand, the ruler had to respect constitutional restrictions, such as Estates. But the reformers did not enter into a closer discussion of these questions. They were convinced that God would put down tyrants himself. In particular cases Calvin, however, defended monarchies, but as a rule he judged them in a hostile spirit, and also expressed the greatest contempt for the rule of the masses. His sympathy was for an aristocratic form of State, possibly with an admixture of democracy, and guided by the Church. His ideals were the biblical State of the Israelites and the Church in the time of the Apostles. Calvin's opinions were also shaped by the fact that his creed was terribly persecuted by kings. Luther, however, owed his success to a great extent to the support of princes.

The elder reformer, as far as possible, kept aloof from politics. Calvin took an active part in them, and obtained in the Republic of Geneva an almost dictatorial power, though he was never more than a preacher. It took him fourteen years of great struggles with the enemies of his puritanism to achieve this position. Geneva had earlier received a rather democratic constitution. The Town Council exercised power also in matters of religion, together with the college of the pastors, and used it with great energy to spread the new faith. When Calvin's time came he reorganised the Church which was now directed by a Consistory composed of the pastors and a number of laymen elected by the municipal magistracy. Calvin wanted to make the Church an autonomous body with preponderant influence in all matters since they were all subject to the law of God. But the resistance of the politicians in power secured legal control over the Church to the Town Council. In fact, however, as long as Calvin lived the real power was with the Consistory of which he was the permanent chairman, and which he dominated. This factual power over Church and State was exclusively due to Calvin's forceful and imposing personality, and after his death the Town Council recovered its predominance, laid down in the constitution. The reformer had also a great share in a thoroughgoing revision of the laws and regulations of Geneva. In its course the constitution too was gradually changed. It increasingly became oligarchic, and the rights of the general assembly of the citizens were ever more reduced, till they disappeared. This development reached its peak shortly after Calvin's death.

Under the guidance of the great reformer a regime was erected in Geneva supervising and directing the whole life of the people. The bold plan of a State on the biblical model, a new Jerusalem guided by a prophet inspired by God, aroused the enthusiasm of determined Protestants in many countries. Many of them visited Geneva, among them John Knox, who spent there several years and became a citizen. He declared that it was 'the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth since the days of the Apostles.' Many other foreign observers also were filled with admiration, and the example of Geneva stimulated reforms in many countries. The grandeur of Calvin's vision, the majesty of his personality, and his unceasing zeal in realising his plans were, indeed, fascinating. But even many prominent members of the Reformed Churches admit to-day that his work showed also less admirable sides. Professor Choisy of the University of Geneva praises Calvin's merits in arousing and educating the conscience, and calls him a forerunner of Kant. But he also points out that not seldom his mind was in open and flagrant opposition to the spirit of Christ. Professor James Mackinnon, a member of the Reformed Church of Scotland, says that Calvin's theocracy, despite its otherwise laudable aims, was unduly puritanic. He gives many proofs, and others may be found in Kampschulte's fundamental work. In Mackinnon's words, the system tended to nurture a narrow formalism, to ascribe an artificial religious value to things indifferent in themselves, and to breed the Pharisee. It lacked the larger and freer spirit of Luther, who emphasised the freedom as well as the servitude of the Christian. An inquisitorial, harsh tyrannical system was used to enforce obedience. Torture was employed to extort confession of moral and doctrinal offences, and to put pressure on witnesses. Religious or moral laxity was often punished by bodily chastisement. It was a crime to be absent from sermon or communion, to do anything reminiscent of Catholicism, or to have any intercourse with Catholics, to be unable to recite the Lord's Prayer or the Creed, to break the Sabbath, to swear or jest, to joke at Calvin's expense, to criticise a preacher, to dance, play cards, be drunk or wear forbidden finery, to sing a worldly song, and so on. Even the private life of every citizen was spied out by informers, and children were forced to incriminate their parents. A child was decapitated for striking his father. A widow who at the grave of her husband said 'Rest in peace' was persecuted for Catholic idolatry. Burghers who had laughed during sermon went to prison for three days and had to do public penance. The same punish-

ment was meted out to workers for having once eaten meat pie for breakfast. There was no guarantee of fair play for persons accused of an offence.

Heretical opinions were punished with the utmost severity. In principle only capital punishment was admitted, though in practice certain exceptions were made. The execution of Servetus at Calvin's instigation aroused strong protests abroad, though it was approved by Melancthon and Bullinger. It is also very doubtful whether Calvin really wanted to have his execution by burning to be changed to beheading. Alleged witchcraft was punished with ferocious cruelty. In times of plague numerous women and men were executed or mutilated for having brought about the pestilence by means of sorcery. In four years 1542-46 between eight hundred and nine hundred people were arrested, fifty-eight were sentenced to death, and seventy-six banished. Luther was on the whole more tolerant, especially in his earlier time.

Luther's mind was further swayed by the image of Christ's peaceability, humility and rejection of any violence. He therefore condemned any war not strictly defensive. Calvin was filled with enthusiasm for the warlike heroes of the Old Testament, and a war for the honour and glory of God, to put down his enemies, was certainly justified in his eyes. He rejected however wars for aggrandisement merely to satisfy the ambition of a king. Yet Calvin worked for an alliance of Francis I of France with German Protestant princes against Emperor Charles V. As a good Frenchman he also wholeheartedly sympathised with the territorial expansion of France in Italy. Calvin further laid great stress upon spreading the true creed throughout the world. The Academy founded by him in Geneva trained thousands of missionaries destined to fight popery in every country.

It was natural that the educated classes, inspired by rationalism, were attracted by the writings of a reformer who was also a consummate humanistic scholar, a perfect lawyer and politician, and a model of puritanism. The cogency of his argumentation, the masterly diction of his Latin and French tracts, and his fiery energy were overwhelming. His intellectual followers began to look down on the former monk Luther who had denounced reason as the whore of the devil, who believed in popish superstition such as the corporeal presence, who did not dare to make politics, and whose gross language and manners were more for the common man than for an intellectual. It is significant that many Calvinists later entered into close relations with Cartesian

rationalism, and excelled in mathematics and natural science. In France the warlike aristocracy and the wealthy bourgeoisie largely became Calvinists, while the common people clung to Catholicism.

Calvinism later reached a position of the greatest historic importance in the Netherlands, Scotland, England and America. It became associated with great political causes, with the striving for national independence and political freedom. But in these struggles religion was only one of the driving powers concerned, and their results must not therefore be ascribed to Calvinism alone. This applies also to the great controversy, opened by Max Weber and Ernst Troeltsch, on the influence of Calvinism on modern social development. In this controversy Calvinism has often been represented as a creed making for progress and freedom, and Lutheranism as a force of conservatism. But such formulas over-simplify complex processes. Calvinism favoured rationalism, activism and radicalism, and it has often been used to justify a policy of force. Lutheranism showed more affinity with emotionalism, passivism and peaceableness. But the same creed showed in different historic situations widely divergent trends. Lutheranism has not played the same rôle in Germany and in Sweden. The problem how Lutheranism and Calvinism developed in various ages and countries far exceeds the scope of this study and the space here available. But it is of great significance for the study of the German public mind, and we refer here to the books indicated in the bibliographical notes, in particular to Schneckenburger's comparison of their theologies. Elert's admirable morphology of Lutheranism, McNeill's study of Calvinism, and Boehmer's Essays where interesting parallels between the social rôle of Calvinists and Lutherans in the same age and environment are given. An ideological line could also be drawn from Calvin over Rousseau to Robespierre.

In Germany the Reformed creed first appeared in the regions near Switzerland, along the Rhine, and later on in territories bordering the Netherlands. The Rhine Palatinate became the main seat of Calvinism, and later Hesse-Cassel and several small territories followed. Certain princes and intellectual circles were its pioneers, while the common people often clung to Lutheranism. This was also shown in Brandenburg where the prince became reformed, but the people not. Calvin rejected tolerance, and his successor Beza called the freedom of conscience a diabolical doctrine. Yet the Calvinists indulged less than the Lutherans in theological quarrels, and reformed princes often were tolerant to dissidents in their lands. To the Reformed Church the

study of the Bible, a life free from vice, and the avoidance of Papist superstition were more important than theological subtleties. The Lutheran princes under the lead of Saxony became a party standing for peace and loyalty to the Emperor. The Calvinist princes under the lead of the Count Palatine became the radical wing of Protestantism, and adopted a warlike attitude towards the Catholic powers and the Emperor.

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THE REGENERATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE JESUITS

FOR a long time the Reformation possessed an impetus which nothing could stop. The most idealistic and active section of the clergy had joined it, and the old Church was thereby deprived of determined defenders. The rulers, nobles and burghers mostly favoured the movement, partly from conviction, partly from interest. They had many means to promote the new faith among their subjects and dependents without resorting to force, especially by appointing Lutheran parsons. But the lower classes, too, had reasons to lean to the evangelical cause. They had had much personal experience of the evils of the old system, they expected that the freedom proclaimed by Luther would also improve their social position, and, moreover, the new rites were introduced with caution, in order not to provoke resistance. The Reformation seemed to win a total victory.

Yet the Church showed an unexpected power of regeneration. This was not merely in reaction to the Reformation, but developed spontaneously from forces prior to it. Ranke has in his *History of the Popes* given the classical exposition of this movement. Before the Reformation, and in its beginnings, the Papacy had sunk to a state of religious and moral degradation, which had hardly a parallel in her history, and humanism had permeated the court of Rome with a spirit of paganism for which Christianity was merely an object of derision. But this very triumph of the forces of the Antichrist aroused in the highest circles of the hierarchy, and among distinguished priests and scholars, an ardent longing for the purification of the Church and of religion from the terrible blemishes defacing them. These aspirations

showed many similarities with Luther's thought, though they avoided his violence and aggressiveness.

The progress of the Reformation strengthened this striving. Many attempts were made to prevent a permanent cleavage in the Church, and to attain an understanding with the Protestants. Emperor Charles V made great efforts to bring about religious peace by means of compromises and reforms. He compelled the reluctant Pope to convoke the Council of Trent, which had to go through many vicissitudes. The Emperor could not achieve his aims, but the Council at last (1563) succeeded in reforming the Church. It clearly defined the fundamental beliefs, abolished grave abuses and took measures to create a highly qualified new clergy and to restore morality and discipline. Most of all, however, it invested the Pope with monarchical authority, though not yet with infallibility. In the same period a great change further took place in the character of the Popes and the high dignitaries of the Church. The former type of Pope or Cardinal who was mainly a prince concerned with power politics, and other worldly interests, and was leading a dissolute life increasingly gave way to the type of a priest filled with religious fervour, of austere or ascetic manners, and distinguished by Christian virtues, though not seldom also marked by intolerance and fanaticism. The reforms no doubt went far in restoring piety, morality and zeal, but they were accompanied by a change which was surely incompatible with the spirit of Christ, namely the ruthless use of force in exterminating unorthodox beliefs and their adherents. Pope Paul IV in 1542 restored the Inquisition which soon proceeded with great cruelty against everybody suspect of heresy. Spain, Italy and the Netherlands were most affected, while in Germany the Inquisition was mainly directed against alleged witches who were equally treated by the Protestants, though on a lesser scale.

The regeneration of the Catholic Church was not restricted to the reforms laid down by high dignitaries in Trent and Rome, but sprang also from the religious ardour of numerous believers. These endeavours led to the foundation of many new monastic orders and congregations, which were often off-shoots of older ones. They all sought to realise the Christian ideals of piety, humility, chastity, poverty and charity, but unlike many older orders they were less concerned with praying, singing, ceremonies and asceticism than with helping others in brotherly love and in a self-sacrificing spirit. The founders came almost all from noble and wealthy families, but with enthusiasm abandoned all the

worldly advantages of their position, and devoted themselves to a life in poverty and misery, exposed to pestilence and other risks. The Capuchins rejected every comfort, even the wearing of shoes. They wanted to live like the poor, and to become their friends and helpers in their daily life, in times of starvation, plague and war. The Brothers of Charity attended the sick and suffering, they built hospitals, and cared for the poor. This order consisted mainly of laymen. But there were also orders of women such as the Sisters of Charity who were indefatigable in similar services of love. Many congregations were engaged in missionary work, in redeeming slaves in the hands of the infidels, in reforming the morality of the clergy, in saving prisoners, prostitutes etc. from perishing in crime and vice, in helping wounded soldiers, and so on. These activities did much to win the hearts of the people for the Church. The Protestants could not rival them. They also cared for the poor, but most of the work was left to town magistrates and the government. Orthodox Lutherans even saw in charity a danger to the doctrine of 'Faith Alone'. Nor did the spirit of Calvinism encourage doing much for people whose social environment was hardly apt to foster a saintly life. If some Puritans saw in financial success a sign that they belonged to God's elect, it was difficult to avoid the conclusion that proletarians belonged to the other type.

Most of the new congregations were not designed to take part in the religious struggles of the age. But the Society of Jesus became the most powerful organ of the Counter-Reformation, though it had not been founded for this purpose. A Spanish nobleman and officer, known as Ignatius Loyola, having been lamed by a wound, experienced visions and a complete change of heart, making him yearn for an opportunity to distinguish himself in the service of Christ. Unlike the great reformers he was not learned; as a man of thirty-three he had to go to school with boys to learn Latin, and he had to spend nine years on studies. But he possessed an iron will power, a unique insight into the human mind, extraordinary influence on others, and great organising talent. He practised severe self-denial, drilled himself in spiritual exercises, preached and formed conventicles, which brought him in conflict with the Inquisition. His plan to convert the Turks proved impossible. At last he pursued the idea of forming a military organisation for his religious aims, called the Company of Jesus. It was to be a sort of Salvation army, designed for internal mission and charity, based on the strictest discipline and under the command of the Pope. The

ecclesiastical authorities at first made difficulties, but in 1540 Pope Paul III approved the foundation of the new order, and a year later Loyola became its supreme commander or General.

The masses of the people had in many places been estranged from Christian beliefs, rites and morality, paying only lip-service to them. The first task of the Jesuits therefore was to win them back by teaching, preaching, hearing confession, consoling them in their worries, and by extensive charity. In their sermons they did not, like many Protestant preachers, put forward subtle theological questions, or indulge in acrimonious polemics against co-religionists. They spoke to the people in a simple language, appealing more to their emotions than to their intellect, and trying to enflame their hearts by the ardour of the spirit, expressed by their voice and gesture, and the shine of their eyes. As confessors they made great allowance for human weakness, and their doctrine on this question was often stretched to dangerous extremes. This naturally made them very popular with sinners. Before the advent of the Jesuits confession played a much smaller role in religious life than it did later. Only now it became frequent and detailed, and the priest was constantly asked for advice on every kind of question.

As educators the Jesuits excelled all their rivals, especially in the universities, schools for the clergy, and grammar schools. They devoted themselves less to elementary instruction, though later special orders were founded for this purpose. In many countries they obtained complete control of all education. They laid the main stress upon forming the mind and character, religious exercises and fluent Latin, and were later much criticised for neglecting the teaching of useful knowledge. But in educational methods they were a long time ahead of all competitors, as even many Protestants admitted. Lord Bacon of Verulam, Hugo Grotius, Descartes, and of modern historians Ranke and Macaulay have given them high praise. No less great were their merits in research. A freethinker like d'Alembert declared that there was no branch of learning in which they had not scholars of the first magnitude. At the Council of Trent their theologians were foremost in defending the power of the Pope.

In the field of charity, too, the Jesuits showed much initiative and zeal. Loyola himself cultivated it on a great scale. In times of famine the poor were provided with food. Homes for orphans and old people were founded. Loyola made also great efforts to establish in Rome a workhouse for employing the numerous beggars, but in this he failed. He was more successful in opening

homes for former prostitutes and for girls morally endangered. The adoption of the Christian faith by Jews was facilitated, and a home was founded for converts. Infirm poor were visited, prisoners were befriended, and poor peasants received credit. The fathers attended lepers, showed heroism in assisting those affected by the plague and in wars they acted as field preachers and cared for the wounded. They also worked to reconcile husbands and wives who had been estranged from one another, and to restore friendly relations between enemies.

The achievements of Jesuit missionaries were particularly imposing. Their activities stretched around the world, they brought Christianity and civilisation to many backward tribes, and did their best to induce the Europeans to deal with them as human beings. In the colonies they defended the interests of the slaves, and in South America founded a kind of welfare State for the Indians. For some time they had also an influential position in Oriental societies of old civilisation such as India, Japan and China. The Jesuits were the pioneers in studying the thought of these peoples, and in exploring the customs of the primitives. They also had a great share in geographical discoveries, and many became martyrs. The colonial activities of the order led also to its occupation with trade, plantations and industries. In this way and by other means the Jesuits acquired enormous wealth.

But the most important work of the Jesuits consisted in the internal mission, in reviving religious zeal among the lukewarm, and in converting apostates. Their theology facilitated their efforts by avoiding pitfalls such as rigid Predestination. They naturally recognised the necessity of grace, but increasingly left considerable scope to free will, accepting the doctrine of L. Molina. They were also well aware of the risk implied in the bibliolatry of the Protestants. In their view, the Scriptures were not as a whole and literally dictated by God, as the Calvinists and ultra-orthodox Lutherans of the school of Flacius Illyricus believed. In any case, laymen should not read much of the Bible, and least of all form their own judgment in dogmatic questions. The Jesuits realised that the great majority of the people desired a religion appealing to their senses and emotions and they employed many means to satisfy it. They encouraged the passionate cult of the Virgin Mary, of the Heart of Jesus and of the saints, and promoted the belief in the power of relics and in miracles. The great majority of the people had always held it, and it certainly often went back to the old heathen times. The reformers rejected such beliefs as superstition, though they continued to

affirm the reality of miracles, sorcery and witchcraft. The Jesuits everywhere set up images of Mary and the saints, and new relics, and soon miracles were reported to have been effected by them. We know to-day that under certain psychological conditions, e.g. in Lourdes, apparently miraculous healings may happen. Yet the doings and writings of many Jesuits in this regard often amounted to fantastic aberrations. Great skill was also shown in creating an atmosphere favourable to mass suggestion. Processions, pilgrimages, theatrical performances, numerous groups for common devotion etc. served this purpose. The churches were decorated in a colourful, highly emotional style, called the Baroque.

The Order was neither founded to combat Protestantism, nor to intervene in politics, though later it was much occupied with both. It was the Pope and secular rulers who induced the Jesuits to engage in fighting the Protestants. The plan of the great campaign against the German Lutherans was drawn up by Loyola as late as 1554, two years before his death. The Order wanted at first to keep aloof from politics, but was soon drawn into it. In those times religion could not be separated from politics. But as late as 1593 the General Assembly of the Order urgently warned the confessors of princes against intervening in political questions. Yet Jesuits soon in many countries became confessors, confidants and advisors of the rulers, and exercised great influence on political decisions. Quite a number became diplomats and ministers. In a great many cases they supported monarchical absolutism and intolerance, but in others they stood for principles of liberty, social justice and national emancipation from foreign oppression. Prominent Jesuit leaders have proclaimed the Sovereignty of the People, and declared that the king was only the first official of a republic, who could be deposed or even killed, if he became a tyrant. The most outspoken representative of this school was the great scholar Juan Mariana, but with modifications also many other high authorities of the Order have taught similar principles, though naturally in a theocratic sense. The enemies of the Jesuits made great use of the slogan that they encouraged the assassination of kings and rebellion.

The Society of Jesus in a comparatively short time attained a position which resembled that of a world empire. The causes of this ascent were the spirit which Ignatius Loyola had planted in the minds of his disciples, and the organisation of the Order which he had elaborated in a masterly way. The Jesuit was neither a monk, nor a secular priest. He was a soldier in a great cause,

bound to absolute obedience and strict discipline, and equipped with psychological weapons of great efficiency. The aims and means of the Order attracted many men of high ideals, faculties and attainments, but its fabulous success also stirred up immense jealousy, envy and hatred, even within the Church. A glance at its later development shows many signs of spiritual decline, fatal errors committed by its leaders, and at last the downfall of the Order. The countries also which were most under the sway of the Jesuits have had to go through great misfortunes. These have often been ascribed to the action of Jesuitism on the national spirit. Whether this was so, cannot be discussed here. Our brief outline of the Jesuit Order in its beginnings was only designed to explain its rôle in the Counter-Reformation in Germany.

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RELIGIOUS STRIFE AMONG THE PROTESTANTS

A CERTAIN scope of variation in religious doctrine was inherent in the Protestant striving for spiritual freedom. In the second half of the sixteenth century, however, the theological controversies among the Lutherans, and between them and the Calvinists, became so frequent and bitter that not seldom public peace was threatened. Numerous champions of Lutheran orthodoxy, in particular, rivalled the Inquisition in smelling heresies behind the words of their co-religionists, and they used every opportunity to attack them with unbridled ferocity. Many of these zealots were excellent scholars, and actuated by genuine religious ardour. This was often proved by their boldness in criticising those in power, and in accepting exile and misery rather than exercise moderation. Yet in many of these quarrels personal jealousy of a rival, the wish to get his post or to surpass him in reputation played a great rôle—sometimes perhaps unconsciously. Very often, moreover, the bone of contention was less a real difference in ideas than a difference in words. Each side used certain theological terms in a different sense. Nevertheless in many cases the root of the strife was the antagonism between hidebound orthodoxy and a freer, more spiritual attitude, though often fierce strife raged also between orthodox divines. Once a conflict had broken out it rapidly spread over wide areas. The rulers had often to intervene in order to prevent popular commotions. They asked their court theologians, or universities, especially that of Wittenberg, for advice, and tried to compel the hotheads to restrain their temper. But usually these were recalcitrant and truculent; they tried to arouse public opinion and to find supporters at home and abroad; they flooded Germany with tracts, and used the weapon

of excommunication against their opponents. Many a small country now had a pope of its own or several candidates competing for supremacy. When one party got the upper hand it often deposed pastors of the other party, or even expelled them.

In 1561 the papal nuncio Commendone described the state of mind in Germany in the words that no town, and even no house, was free from religious strife. The wives quarrelled with their husbands, the children with their parents about questions of faith and the Bible, in pothouses, among drinkers and gamblers, there were altercations about the most sacred truths. The strife among the Protestants was so heated that the battle with the Catholics was for some time almost forgotten as the study of the polemical tracts shows. The Protestant princes tried to subdue the violence of that strife by introducing the censorship.

The germs of the struggles could mostly be found already in Luther's writings which on certain points contained divergent tendencies. His personality and prestige could, however, on the whole maintain peace within his Church. But after his death this was often no longer possible. Many of his disciples inherited from him his intransigence, pugnacity and polemical violence. The most famous theologian among the Lutherans was now the mild Philip Melanchthon. For a long time past his mind had been opposed to rigid formulas erecting artificial barriers between Christians. He had to a certain extent revived the spirit of humanism with its belief in human reason, freedom of will and the dignity of man, and had tried to reconcile it with Lutheranism. He realised also that the old and the new faiths had more ground in common than Luther was willing to admit, and for long he hoped for re-union. Such Catholic ceremonies and customs as did not encourage superstition seemed to him irrelevant and might be tolerated. On various occasions orthodox zealots suspected him of a relapse into popery, or attributed his attitude either to timidity, or to corruption. On the other hand, Melanchthon drew nearer to Calvinism by interpreting the Lord's Supper in a more spiritual way than Luther had done, though in other respects his views greatly differed from Calvinist orthodoxy. Luther himself had esteemed Calvin, who also endorsed the Augsburg Confession after Melanchthon had revised it in 1540. But three years after Luther's death Calvin came to an agreement with the Zwinglians about the Lord's Supper, and from that moment he was regarded by the orthodox Lutherans as a detestable heretic.

Melanchthon's broadmindedness was odious to the orthodox

party. Most of their dogmatic altercations sprang from their wish to destroy his reputation and influence, though their attacks were mostly directed against his disciples. As early as 1527 Johann Agricola raised a great controversy disparaging the value of moral laws such as the Ten Commandments, and declaring faith alone to be important. The attack was really aimed at Melanchthon who had attributed an educational value to the laws. Luther himself intervened and stopped the dispute, but ten years later Agricola renewed his attack and Luther took up the cudgels against him. Actually Luther had once said very much the same as Agricola was now saying. After Luther's death the antinomian controversy revived three times within the next thirty years. The turbulent preacher Anton Otto declared it would be better that a Christian should know nothing of laws, which were merely a matter for the town hall, not for the Church. A true Christian was above any obedience, he was deified, was even God himself and was unable to sin.

The question was closely connected with those of good works and free will. In 1536 Kaspar Cruciger, a friend of Melanchthon's, put forward the latter's doctrine of Synergism: that man himself was able to contribute something to his regeneration and salvation by his own will and behaviour. He could to a certain degree accept or repel God's Grace. Pastor Cordatus denounced him to Luther who was horrified, but when his passion had cooled down, he brought about a settlement. But further denunciations for other dogmatic offences followed, and Melanchthon's position at the university was seriously threatened. His worst tribulations, however, came when he was faced with the task of finding a middle way between the Interim and Protestant convictions; he did his best to safeguard the latter, without plunging Germany into a new war. Every concession was violently opposed by the orthodox party under the leadership of Flacius Illyricus who owed his chair at Wittenberg largely to Melanchthon's support. Flacius possessed immense learning but also an impetuous character and fanatical intransigence. He had to leave Wittenberg, lived for some time in Magdeburg, and then became a professor at the University of Jena, founded as a bulwark of Lutheran orthodoxy in opposition to Wittenberg, which was infected with Melanchthon's spirit. In 1549 he and others launched a fierce campaign against Melanchthon and the moderates concerning the so-called *Adiaphora*, namely certain Catholic ceremonies which the latter regarded as mere outward forms without religious relevance, and therefore as acceptable. At the same time another big

conflict broke out in Koenigsberg between the famous theologian Andreas Osiander and the orthodox party. Osiander denied that the mere belief in redemption by Christ's death was enough. Man should also imbue himself with Christ's divine spirit, his goodness and holiness, with love of God and of his neighbours. For this he was violently attacked by the orthodox, and blamed for reviving Catholic errors. Pastor Moerlin thundered from the pulpit: 'It would be a thousand times better to wade up to the knees in blood, that the Turks should besiege this city and massacre you all; yea, it would even be better that you were all Jews or heathen, than to tolerate Osiander in his office.' When Osiander died three years later his enemies were convinced that the devil had wrung his neck or had torn him to pieces, and the government ordered an inquest to be held to clear up this point. His main disciple, the court preacher Funck, was later executed as a heretic. The quarrel between Osiander and the orthodox party was followed by one between the latter and Franciscus Stancarus which developed out of the former conflict. Stancarus declared that Christ had effected redemption by his human nature only, as only a man could shed his blood and suffer. Otherwise he could either not have been the mediator between man and God, or would not have truly been God. He also declared that all the reformers had been ignoramuses. The old scholastic Petrus Lombardus alone, he said, was worth more than a hundred Luthers, two hundred Melanchthons, three hundred Bullingers and four hundred Calvins. No wonder that the Lutherans, Zwinglians and Calvinists were for once all united in condemning Stancarus.

At the same time as these controversies took place another one aroused much passion in Hamburg. Johann Hoeck, called Aepinus, was superintendent and principal preacher in this town. He put forward the theory that Christ's soul had descended into hell in order to suffer there too, and to redeem man also from that sort of punishment. Some of his colleagues took great exception to this and raged against Aepin, this wolf in sheep's clothing. As they also aroused the populace against him the Town Council prohibited further discussions, and when Aepin's opponents continued their provocative sermons they were expelled. In 1552 the strife about good works revived. Amsdorf and Flacius attacked the superintendent, Georg Major, a friend of Melanchthon, for having emphasised their value. Amsdorf even contended that works of charity might be harmful to salvation. Melanchthon thereupon remarked: 'How amazed posterity will be that there

was once a crazy century in which such nonsense was acclaimed.' A few years later superintendent Johann Pfeffinger, a disciple of Melancthon's wrote a book on free will, in which he defended the theory of Synergism. Flacius furiously attacked him, and the dispute went on for years. Out of it grew the controversy on Original Sin, which lasted twenty-five years. Flacius maintained that original sin was not a mere accidental corruption of human nature, but its very substance. Luther had, indeed, uttered such views. But Flacius and his school went to extremes and contended that the Fall had changed human nature from being divine to being diabolic. God no longer regarded man as his son, but as the son of the devil. This thesis implied a terrible dilemma. Either God had created that devilish nature, and this view would have completely changed our image of Him, or the devil had done it, which seemed to revive the old Manichean heresy co-ordinating God and the devil as creators of the world.

Flacius was also involved in many other theological quarrels in which most of the participants used to hurl the worst abuse at their brothers in Christ. If Flacius called his opponents paramours of the Babylonian whore, renegades, apostates, impostors etc. these replied in the same strain calling him an Illyrian viper, an un-German vagabond and a raven croaking himself hoarse at the gallows. In Jena Flacius and his party established a theological despotism which tried to stamp out all opposition by means of an inquisitorial terrorism. Large sections of the people became infected with party hatred, and it was feared that riots might break out. The ruler, Duke John Frederick, tried to restrain the fanatics, but in vain. Flacius assumed towards him a threatening attitude and came near to excommunicating him. At last in 1561 the Duke deposed him and forty-seven of his principal followers. Flacius had to go into exile, and for years tried in various places to find an adequate position again. All efforts failed, because everywhere his turbulence was feared. He died in 1575 in great misery. To the last he was convinced that his opponents took their arguments 'from the cloaca of papist sophistry.' His adversary Andreæ, however, on hearing of his death opined that Flacius was now in hell sitting at table with all the devils.

Flacianism, however, was not dead. His disciples, expelled from Saxony and other territories, spread his views elsewhere. Already during his lifetime Spangenberg had preached them in Mansfeld, where the ruling Counts were sympathetic to Flacius. The question whether Original Sin was an accident or the sub-

stance of human nature led among the peasants and miners there to the rise of two parties, the Accidentalists and the Substantialists. Many Flacians sought a refuge in Austria, and there, too, aroused trouble. Joachim Magdeburgius became a field preacher in Austria and taught that original sin and the wrath of God even after death remained connected with the corpses until the Day of Judgment. Fierce contention raged between his school and opponents respecting the relation of corpses in decomposition, or already decomposed, to justification and salvation. His opponents called that school grave sinners, grave prophets, cadaverists, bone polluters etc. Certain Flacians further concluded from man's diabolic nature that a pregnant woman had the devil in her womb. A preacher refused the sacrament to the pregnant wife of Count Ruediger Starhemberg, a leader of the Protestant nobles in Austria, unless she acknowledged before the congregation that she was sin and carried the devil within her. The Count thereupon withdrew his favour from the Flacians, and was consequently attacked by them as a tyrant and persecutor of Christian Preachers. The Protestant nobility who for many years had patronised the Flacians were at last compelled to appeal to the governor Archduke Ernest, a supporter of the Counter-Reformation, to rid them of this 'venomous sect.'

Of all the theological quarrels, however, none aroused more passions than that about the Lord's Supper. The early controversies with Karlstadt and Zwingli gradually died down, but soon Schwenckfeld put forward new views on this subject which led to long altercations. All these debates, however, were far surpassed in historic importance by Calvin's Zuerich agreement of 1549 with the Zwinglians, in which the union with Christ was represented as a purely spiritual one. The bodily and local presence of Christ in the bread and wine and the idea that even unbelievers or the unworthy received Him were rejected. The first to take up arms for orthodox Lutheranism was Joachim Westphal of Hamburg. He scoffed at the defilers of the sacrament with their twenty-eight different opinions on this subject. Soon afterwards, in 1553, a number of French and Dutch Calvinists who had hitherto lived in London under the guidance of the high-minded and learned John of Lasco fled from Queen Mary's persecution. Their ships landed at various ports of Denmark and Northern Germany, but despite the hard winter they were pitilessly repulsed at the instigation of the Lutheran pastors, probably on Westphal's initiative. In Denmark they were at once driven back to their ships, and under penalty

of capital punishment prohibited from setting foot on land again. In some German ports they were granted at least a short respite, but were not permitted to stay. This event induced Calvin to criticise Westphal's arguments with great bitterness. He emphasised that in his view Christ's body was really communicated at the moment of receiving the Sacrament, though not by the act of eating or drinking but by a sort of mystical emanation comparable to the rays of the sun. Luther's view seemed to him absurd. The Lutherans replied in a spate of tracts defending the position of their master. The theory of Ubiquity was revived by them, and the influence of Brenz even raised it to the rank of a fundamental dogma of later Lutheranism. But while the Swabian school of Brenz taught an absolute ubiquity, the Nether-Saxon school of M. Chemnitz admitted only a relative one, and there were further variations.

A bitter fight was waged between Hesshusius and Wigand, both supported by other theologians, as to whether Christ's body was all-powerful and venerable in concreto or in abstracto. The words abstract and concrete were used by the warring parties as words of insult against one another. At the same time in many towns and territories there was a drive against preachers suspected of Calvinism. The Lutheran doctrine that the communicant was eating the real flesh and drinking the real blood of Christ induced the Calvinists to call them cannibals and bloodsuckers and their dogma of Ubiquity was ridiculed by asking whether Christ was also in a pot of beer or in the hangman's rope. The Lutherans themselves, however, did much to provoke the jeers of their opponents. They discussed whether a mouse nibbling at the bread also received Christ's body, at what moment Christ entered the bread and wine, whether on their consecration, or at the moment of dispensing them, whether Christ's body was also digested in the stomach, what should be done to avert the divine wrath if a drop of wine was spilt, and so on.

When this controversy developed many attempts were made to induce Melanchthon to give his weighty support to one school or the other. But like Erasmus in a similar situation he expressed himself with great caution and obviously wanted to remain above the strife of the parties in order to be able to bring about their reconciliation. In this he did not succeed, and he became himself the object of malignant attacks of the ultra-orthodox party, in particular of the Flacians. They accused him of sympathising with Calvinism, and called his followers Crypto-Calvinists or Philippists. Melanchthon's last years were

filled with bitterness and sorrow about the future of Protestantism. When in 1560 he died a paper was found on his desk saying that he was looking forward to death as a relief from sin, his sorrows and the fury of the theologians. The Flacians charged the followers of Melanchthon also with irreverence towards the memory of Luther, whom they were said to describe as a cantankerous old man who could not endure a rival, who indulged in the worst exaggerations without believing them and who was a showman of his own genius and a bully holding others down in a tyrannical way. Luther's admirers were naturally greatly offended by such aspersions, and vented their fury against Melanchthon's memory. At a colloquy of theologians held in 1578 Melanchthon was stigmatised as the principal author of all heresies, and Andreas Musculus was said to have moved a resolution that his bones should be disinterred and burned. He remained the bugbear of the rigid Lutherans for nearly two centuries.

It was just this mentality, however, which furthered the rise of Calvinism. Pastor Tilemann Hesshusius was equal to Flacius in orthodox intransigence, though he later became his bitter enemy. He was first preacher in Goslar, and then in Rostock, but was in both towns expelled by the town magistrate because of his domineering and turbulent behaviour, and in his numerous later posts he also indulged in disturbances of the peace. In Rostock he had got into trouble with the magistrate about marriages and feasts on Sundays, and had excommunicated the ruling burgomaster. In 1557 he became on Melanchthon's recommendation professor of theology at Heidelberg, and General-Superintendent of the Palatine Church. But immediately his despotic conduct and demagogic preaching brought him into conflict with part of the clergy, the university and the government. In the question of the Lord's Supper he accused his opponents of being infected with the poison of Zwinglianism. Actually the creed of Zuerich had at that time many followers in the Palatinate, and it was only later superseded by the closely related creed of Geneva. When the deputy of the absent prince, Count Erbach, admonished all the preachers to maintain peace and concord, Hesshusius declared he was thereby protecting heretics and excommunicated him. Soon afterwards Count Palatine Frederick III returned from the Reichstag and again tried to calm the strife. But when Hesshusius met him with defiance the prince dismissed him, and his main opponent also. This step initiated the development of the Palatinate first towards a tolerant

attitude in the question of the Lord's Supper, as recommended by Melancthon, and soon thereafter to Calvinism, though with certain modifications. In this way the intransigence of orthodox Lutheranism enabled Calvinism to obtain a footing in Germany, which was to have momentous consequences.

Frederick III was a deeply religious and conscientious ruler who in history is known as Frederick the Pious. He became a Lutheran through the influence of his wife, but his constant theological studies led him towards Melancthon, Zwingli and finally to Calvin. His initiative in adopting the reformed creed was supported by numerous preachers, noblemen, civil servants and professors who rejected the anti-rational attitude of Lutheran orthodoxy, and preferred the Swiss spiritual concept of the Lord's Supper. The churches were purged of every 'idolatry' namely altars, pictures, statues, organs, priestly vestments etc.; the property of the old Church was dedicated to religious, educational and charitable aims and formed a separate fund; the Church received a great measure of autonomy, and the laity were represented in the presbyteries designed to watch over ecclesiastical discipline. The strict Calvinists led by Olevianus wanted also to imitate Calvin's rigorous discipline especially by means of excommunication. But this was strongly opposed by the Zwinglian Thomas Erastus, a famous scholar, who emphasised that this was unbiblical, tyrannous and conducive to the hierarchy and inquisition of the Roman Church. At last excommunication was adopted, but was exercised in a milder way than in Geneva. The creed was formulated in the Heidelberg Catechism (1563) by Ursinus and Olevianus. It was accepted by the Reformed Churches in many countries. Calvin's principal dogma of predestination, however, was not mentioned.

Heidelberg soon became an international centre and bulwark of Calvinism. Famous scholars and students of many nations gathered at the university. Refugees from persecution in France and the Netherlands found a new home in the Palatinate, and introduced industries and other improvements. Frederick was himself well educated, and had a keen interest in education. During his reign many schools were founded, excellent teachers were engaged, and scholarships granted to talented pupils. There was a great struggle about the supreme control of the schools between the Church Council, dominated by the strict Calvinists, and the university. Erastus at last secured the control of the university which was more liberal. The Count Palatine laid great stress upon suppressing every sort of loose living and ir-

religion, and at his court no luxury was tolerated. In his own lands the Estates of the Upper-Palatinate resolutely refused to become Calvinist, and wanted to stay Lutheran. He was much grieved but was averse to using force, and could not overcome the resistance. Even Anabaptists were tolerated if they abstained from exercising their cult. But the Roman creed was Anathema to Frederick, nor were Jews permitted to live in his State.

In politics the Count-Palatine wanted to unite all Protestants for an energetic policy against the Catholic Habsburgs, both at home and abroad. This effort had little success. It foundered on the stubborn opposition of orthodox Lutheranism to co-operation with Calvinists and their sympathisers. The Reformed Creed was in the following half-century introduced in a few small territories, but greater progress was achieved only later. Yet Calvinism had many sympathisers among the followers of Melanchthon, the Philipists or Crypto-Calvinists. For some time they even obtained great influence over Elector Augustus of Saxony, whom they persuaded that they too were true-blue Lutherans. The transfer by Charles V of the electoral dignity and the main part of Saxony to the younger line of the House of Wettin had created a deep gulf between the two lines. The new electorate possessed the Universities of Leipzig and Wittenberg which were dominated by the school of Melanchthon. The dispossessed line therefore founded the University of Jena which became the stronghold of orthodox Lutheranism. Duke John Frederick of the latter line moreover let himself be ensnared by Wilhelm of Grumbach, a Franconian knight of evil repute. He was a condottiere hiring mercenaries for France, and planning to rob Church property and his followers murdered a bishop. Now Grumbach intended to bring about a great European war for the overthrow of the Habsburgs with the help of France, Sweden, the Calvinists in the Netherlands, the Sultan and German princes. Under his influence the Duke hoped to recover his electorate, and even to become emperor, the first Protestant on the Imperial throne. But the plot was discovered, and foiled, the Duke was sentenced to life-long imprisonment, and Grumbach was executed by quartering (1567). Numerous popular ballads expressed sympathy for the defeated plotters celebrating them as heroes and victims of the papists.

Soon afterwards the religious war in France was renewed, and the resistance of the Netherlands to Spain became an open revolt. Frederick had always followed the struggles of his co-religionists abroad with warmest and active sympathy. Now his

second son Johann Casimir brought together an army and came to the rescue of the Huguenots. In the course of time he and other German princes undertook several such expeditions to France, and also gave active help to the Netherlanders in revolt. These expeditions were largely financed by Queen Elizabeth of England. The Emperor and Reichstag vetoed them, but in vain. On the other hand many Lutheran princes used to open their countries to the recruiting officers of the French king, or even of the French Catholic League. In consequence a great proportion of the troops fighting in the French religious wars consisted on both sides of Germans. The troops of Johann Casimir terribly ravaged and plundered both French and German territories through which they marched but the Huguenots were very well satisfied with their German auxiliaries, and even wished that they should also occupy Paris as a punishment for her Catholic partisanship.

At that time political relations between Elector Augustus of Saxony, the leading Lutheran prince, and the Count-Palatine were for some years friendly. But this soon came to an end. Frederick's policy became ever more hostile to the Habsburgs and threatened the peace of the Empire. Augustus stood for loyalty to the Emperor and for peace. Moreover, the religious antagonism soon became acute again. The Elector of Saxony became aware of the fact that his most prominent counsellors and theologians belonged to the Crypto-Calvinists. In 1574 he proceeded against them with extreme ruthlessness. His chancellor Dr. Cracov was tortured to extort confession and died of the consequences. Others were for years kept in gaol in inhuman conditions. Augustus did not entertain the slightest doubt that Cracov had intended after the pattern of the Huguenots and the Netherlanders to bring about a political revolution under the cloak of religion. He declared publicly that Calvinism had deluged France and the Netherlands with blood, and no one could persuade him that the Calvinists had not planned a like carnage in Saxony, however godly and pious they might make themselves out to be. The Elector henceforth still more strongly supported the Emperor in the maintenance of peace. But the Calvinists naturally hated him as their greatest enemy.

In memory of the fall of the friends of Calvinism Augustus had a medal struck on which he held a balance in his hand. In one scale was Reason and the devil, in the other Omnipotence and Christ. The latter naturally tipped the scale. The antagonism of the Lutherans to Calvinism was rooted in Luther's conviction

that, if reason were decisive, it would soon dissolve the whole of faith. In 1570 this suspicion seemed to be confirmed by a strange event. The Lutherans had often pointed out that Calvinism had an affinity to the rationalism of the old heresy of Arius and to Mohammedanism. Actually a group of influential pastors existed in Heidelberg who had come to the conclusion that the Mohammedan faith was the right one, and that the Turkish Empire was that of which Daniel had prophesied that it should rule over the whole world. Their leader, pastor Adam Neuser, wrote a letter to the Sultan advising him to invade Germany and promising to disseminate his religion. Now was the opportune moment while the Christian teachers were all at variance with each other and the common people were beginning to waver in their faith. Moreover, he continued, the lower classes were so heavily oppressed by their rulers that they openly longed for the coming of the Turks. This letter with other suspicious writings fell into the hands of the government, and the whole group was prosecuted. Neuser managed to escape and fled to Turkey where he became a Mohammedan. The preacher Silvanus was sentenced to death and beheaded, others were banished or saved themselves by flight. Lutheran theologians now preached that the Calvinist dragon was pregnant with all the horrors of Mohammedanism. Apart from their theological differences the Lutherans were also convinced that the Calvinists were a warlike and aggressive sect ready to set the world ablaze for what they called the glory of God.

Frederick III died in 1576, and the Palatinate had now to go through repeated changes of religion which may be mentioned here as an illustration of the way in which the fundamental clause of the Religious Peace worked. Frederick's eldest son Ludwig VI was an ardent Lutheran and forced his country to return to Lutheranism. Seven years later he died and power came into the hands of the strict Calvinist Johann Casimir who was guardian of the minor heir to the throne and regent. Under him the Palatinate was forced to change back to Calvinism. Each of these changes was accompanied by violent resistance of sections of the population, and by the deposition, expulsion or flight of numerous preachers, teachers and officials who belonged to the religion in disgrace. In the seventeenth century (1635, 1648, 1685 etc.) the Palatinate was divided and came under the power of Catholic rulers. This led again to much religious oppression and long struggles which spread also to other parts of Germany. Moreover, already under the later Calvinist rulers

the puritanism of Frederick III gave way to a luxurious and dissolute court life on the French model. All these changes could not fail to affect the religious beliefs of the people.

But Protestantism was also threatened by the violent strife among the theologians which was worse among the Lutherans than among the Calvinists. The endless quarrels, and mutual denigrations among the Lutheran preachers did much to pave the way for the Counter-Reformation. Many Christians longed for a religion whose preachers were not divided into hostile camps accusing one another of being tools of Satan. Evidence is also extant showing that the internecine strife often led to a great decline in the religious faith of the people. It is significant that very many leaders of the Counter-Reformation were former Lutherans converted to Catholicism.

The religious divergences were further inter-connected with territorial particularism. As on the European scene every nation came to regard a specific religion as a symbol of its national personality, so in Germany every territory also tended to develop its peculiar beliefs and customs. Germany alone of all the great nations did not obtain a national religion acting as a bond of unity. The Reichstag was very often paralysed by religious strife. Marriages and confidential relations between dynasties of different religion were faced with great difficulties. Rulers often tried to bring about peace and concord between different Protestant schools, but they were usually foiled by the intransigence of the theologians. Germany was to have the same experience as France where the horrors of religious wars made advanced minds yearn for an enlightened royal absolutism decreeing peace and toleration.

Elector Augustus took the initiative in bringing about a unification among the Lutherans. He patronised the plan to elaborate a common confession of the different territorial Churches in the whole of Germany which was to reject all heretical opinions and to state the true Lutheran doctrine. Preparatory discussions between the theologians led to the formulation of various drafts, and the deliberations lasted for more than ten years. Many territorial Churches co-operated in working out the final text. The leading spirit was Dr. Jacob Andreae from Wurttemberg, a remarkable personality who was praised as a second Luther by his admirers and described as the very Satan by his enemies. In these discussions it was pointed out that a condemnation of opinions considered heretical would enable the papists to make out triumphantly that 'in the course of forty seven years the

Protestants had split into at least a hundred different sects.' At last an agreement was reached and in 1580 the result was published in a book under the title 'Formula of Concord.' The idea of having it approved by a council had to be abandoned because this would have led to further endless strife. Instead the princes were asked strongly to use their influence in order to induce their preachers and schoolmasters to sign the Formula. Actually eight thousand of them put their signature to it, though a great many only under severe pressure in order not to lose their livings. The Formula was further endorsed by the three lay Electors, twenty princes, thirty-eight Free Towns and thirty counts and barons. Several rulers, however, consented only under reservations or refused to sign at all. Some of the largest towns, too, did not accept it. But in the principal Lutheran territories the work was accepted by the princes and town councils and it gave German Lutheranism its definite shape. The Calvinists were, of course, enraged since the Formula raised a high wall against their creed. A flood of pamphlets, lampoons and popular songs showed how widespread was the opposition. An example of the tone of these writings was a parody of the Lord's Prayer in which Jacob Andreae was addressed: 'Devil Jacob, which art in the devil's heaven, dishonoured be thine accursed name, may thy ubiquity kingdom be destroyed, thy will be done neither here, nor at Wittenberg, nor down at Leipzig, steal not from us our daily bread, but pay our debts for us, so that we may not have to pay a penny to any of our creditors, lead us not into thy damnable Formula, but save us from thy blasphemous book. Thou sacrilegious old Nick, hell fire is thy power, sulphur and pitch are thy might, a cord round thy throat is thy honour, the shambles and the gallows are thy glory from eternity to eternity, and through all eternity. Amen.'

The Formula of Concord invites a comparison with another Protestant Confession which had been promulgated seventeen years before, and had eight years later been submitted to all clergymen for subscription, namely the Thirty Nine Articles, the doctrine of the Church of England. This comparison strikingly illustrates the great difference between the Reformation in England and in Germany. The English settlement, which included also the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, was primarily inspired by Queen Elizabeth's policy and designed to maintain and strengthen national unity. It therefore defined questions of faith as vaguely as possible. But the Formula, which claims to be

based on the original version of the Augsburg Confession, enters into theological subtleties, and condemns many doctrines as heretical from the standpoint of orthodox Lutheranism though certain extreme doctrines of the Flacians were rejected. Its inspiration is entirely religious and determined by the spirit of theologians, not by political considerations. Elizabeth also understood how to keep the radicals in bounds, both Catholics and Puritans, and she impartially had them both condemned to death if they seemed to become politically dangerous. German Lutheranism has shed much less blood though its religious intolerance was greater. But though Elizabeth disliked the Puritans she objected still more to the dogmatic seclusion of the Lutherans. She warned the German princes against the elaboration of the Formula and was very active in supporting the counter-plan of the Calvinist leader prince Johann Casimir of founding a Holy League against the papists. To this purpose a congress was held in 1577 at Frankfort. It was attended by delegates from many countries, but of German princes Johann Casimir alone was represented. The main point of attack against the Lutherans was that the Formula of Concord tried to 'secretly introduce an entirely new and monstrous dogma of ubiquity'. The congress did not lead to the elaboration of a common confession against which the Swiss protested, but to the publication of a Harmony of Confessions (1581) consisting in the juxtaposition of the words of eleven Protestant confessions referring to nineteen dogmas.

The Reformed Church, too, however, developed towards rigid orthodoxy, though later than Lutheranism. At the Synod of Dordrecht (1618), which was also attended by the German theologians, this movement reached its peak.

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THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

IN the second half of the century Protestantism for some time continued its victorious advance and seemed destined soon to embrace the whole German people. Of the dynasties only the Wittelbachs in Bavaria, the Habsburgs in Austria, and the Dukes of Juelich-Cleve still clung to Catholicism. As regards the ecclesiastical princes not a few of them would probably have joined the Protestants if they had been sure that this would not cost them their lands and revenues. The Catholic Church was still suffering from the fact that a great proportion of her most zealous and able priests had gone over to Protestantism. But the Jesuits and others had already begun their work of training a new clergy and of winning the people back for the old Church.

Single Jesuits came to Germany shortly after the foundation of their Order. The first were Petrus Faber and Claudius Jajus, both from Savoy, and Nicolaus Bobadilla, a Spaniard. In 1543 the Dutchman Peter de Hondt, called Canisius, also joined the Order. He was a disciple of Faber, and soon became the soul of the whole movement in Germany, which he directed and inspired with indefatigable zeal and energy. The spirit of many of these pioneers is significantly expressed in a letter by Faber to Father Lainez, later the General of the whole Order, concerning the attitude to be taken to the Protestants. Above all things, Faber wrote, one must show the heretics a large-hearted charity and high esteem, one must win their hearts and affections by carrying on friendly intercourse with them, and by discussing in an amicable spirit, without any rancour, those matters only about which there is no dissension. One must begin, not with what separates hearts in discord, but with all that draws them closer together. From

the reform of practical morals one might then proceed to the rectification of religious errors, but should start not with theological arguments, but with good works and an exemplary life, just because the Lutherans despise good works and deny the possibility of enduring hardship for the love of God. Faber in all his prayers especially included Luther, Melanchthon and Bucer. The profundity of his learning was combined with the fervour of his piety and the purity of his life. His personality gave him an extraordinary influence on the mind of the people. The effectiveness of the new approach was attested by the furious attacks by enemies of the Jesuits. A Calvinist writer, Seibert, for example, called Jajus, a man of saintly character, a despicable, hypocritical rogue who with his tonsured gang had by their way of life and by their works of charity seduced many people to fall back into popish idolatry to the everlasting damnation of their souls.

Contrary to their later attitude the Jesuits at first refused to accept high posts in the Church, and influential positions at the courts. Their leaders wished them to keep away from the courts and the palaces of the nobility, and from all secular business, such as politics. Canisius, in particular, was convinced that the noblemen who filled the high posts in Germany were a curse for the Church, and he wished therefore to prevent the Jesuits from becoming infected with their corruption.

The Jesuits soon obtained a footing in many Catholic territories in Germany and Austria, though the local priests often met them with ill will. But the princes welcomed them and gave them every assistance. Their first task was the education of a new priesthood. A large number of colleges and seminaries were devoted to this purpose, new universities were founded, and numerous chairs at old ones were given to Jesuits. The German College in Rome was established to train priests for the highest posts. Apart from this work, however, the Jesuits gradually founded many schools for general education. Teaching was the primary profession of the Order. Their higher schools gave a good training in Latin, laid stress upon prayers, confession and attending Mass and cared for morality and physical fitness. But unlike the Protestant schools they did not bother their pupils with theology, Bible reading and Hebrew. While in the Protestant schools the pupils were often severely whipped by their teachers, no Jesuit teacher was permitted to touch a pupil. Corporal punishment was left to a special corrector, who was not a Jesuit, and it was much more restricted than in the other German schools.

Instead the Jesuits tried to stimulate ambition and sense of honour, and organised mutual superintendence and competition among the pupils, though this often led to informing. The Protestant schools saw their aim in preparing the pupils for the career of a pastor, and did not give much attention to their behaviour and appearance. The Jesuits, however, trained their pupils also to be young gentlemen, and laid stress upon cleanliness, tidiness, good manners, self-possession, eloquence, a good style etc. Moreover, all instruction was gratis. No wonder that many Protestant parents sent their children to Jesuit schools.

The Jesuits had also great success as preachers. When in 1559 Canisius became preacher in Augsburg the Catholics formed no more than a tenth of the population. But three years later they had already increased to a third. Canisius wrote a catechism which became the standard textbook for the Catholic world. He avoided any attacks on the Protestants and did not reply to their violent condemnations. In general he and the other pioneers were against disputations and polemics which only stirred up hatred. But later the Jesuits too were drawn into such quarrels, and often abandoned their former restraint. The Lutherans converted by them were particularly bitter against their former co-religionists. The whole of Germany was inundated with furious tracts against the Jesuits and with their replies. Canisius further was opposed to rigorous restrictions imposed by the Church on the reading of heretical and dangerous books. Even the Bible in the vernacular was in Rome considered dangerous and its reading was permitted to a layman only with special licence of his bishop.

The main instruments which won the Fathers the affection of wide masses were their extensive works of charity and their psychological understanding in hearing confession. In theological questions they often showed a surprising adaptiveness to the wishes of the people. No demand of the Protestants was dearer to the people than the cup of wine for the laity. The Jesuits had the idea of dipping the Host into the cup before administering it, though this compromise did not last. The Order further satisfied the craving of the people for a religion speaking not to reason alone but appealing to the senses. Its members understood the spell of the mystical and magical, the sweet rapture created by colour, music and incense, the mass excitement aroused by the theatrical and passionate. They awakened also an ecstatic veneration of the Virgin and the saints. Their images seemed friendlier to repentant sinners and oppressed hearts than the grim Jehova

of the Calvinists or even than Luther's fatherly God, whose fatherhood almost disappeared behind the clouds of the theological quarrels between the Lutheran pastors. True, in their striving to arouse the imagination of the people the Jesuits not seldom overstepped the limits separating religion from superstition, and the symbolical from the absurd.

After the arrival of the Jesuits twenty years and more passed before the Catholic Church had recovered sufficient vigour to undertake the reconquest of the German people. During this time the Protestants made further progress; it is asserted that nine tenths of the people adhered to the new faith. The Protestant princes secularised numerous bishoprics, abbeys and their lands which was contrary to the Reservation contained in the Religious Peace. But the Protestants contested the validity of this clause, and they could also point out that the people, or at least the influential classes and public opinion, were on their side. The Catholic rulers hardly dared to counter these aggressions. But the revival of the old faith initiated by the work of the Council of Trent and the Jesuits, and furthered by the internal strife among the Protestants, paved the way for a policy of suppressing the new faith. Duke Albrecht V of Bavaria started it (1563), advised by a former Lutheran, F. Staphylus, and many ecclesiastical princes followed his example, among them Balthasar von Dernbach, Prince Abbot of Fulda, who had been a Protestant and had returned to Catholicism. The international situation encouraged this movement. In France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland the growth of militant Calvinism increasingly aggravated the religious antagonism. Many princes began to fear that Protestantism under the influence of Calvinism might threaten their own authority and bring about civil war. In Germany the Emperors Ferdinand I and Maximilian II had been obliging to Lutheranism, but with Rudolph II and his brothers a new spirit began to reign at the Imperial Court.

Emperor Rudolph II (1576-1612) had spent his youth at the Court of Spain and shared its religious and political views, though he was not ready to subordinate himself to Spanish policy. Of the Habsburg countries Bohemia, Hungary and the Archduchies of Upper and Lower Austria fell to him, but the Tyrol and Inner-Austria (Styria, Carinthia and Carniola) were ruled by his uncles Ferdinand and Charles, and his four brothers played a great role as governors of Austrian and Spanish dominions. Rudolph possessed high intelligence and keen interest for the arts and sciences, he was very learned and spoke six languages.

He was more a Renaissance type than a religious fanatic. But he was shy, retiring and suspicious and had a melancholy disposition with fits of insanity. He was unable to make up his mind and to abide by a resolution. The Emperor chose Prague as his residence and during his long reign hardly ever left it. He was confronted by many problems each of which would have required a ruler of unusual energy and great power. Among them was the menace of the Ottoman Empire, the most formidable and aggressive power of the time which threatened to subjugate large parts of the West. Maximilian II had made an armistice with the Turks which had several times been prolonged. Nevertheless the frontier pashas often made incursions into Austrian territories which were terribly devastated. In 1592, moreover, the Turkish government resumed its policy of open war. The Austrian rulers continually made efforts to ward off the danger by military and diplomatic means. They created in Croatia and Slavonia the Military Frontier, organised as a bulwark, where also many refugees from the Balkans found a new home. In the wars with the Turks luck swayed to and fro. Habsburg diplomacy further sought to win over Turkish vassals such as the princes of Transylvania, Moldavia and Wallachia, and to secure the Polish crown for one of the Emperor's brothers. The Austrian Estates had to vote heavy taxes for defence.

The Western frontier of the Empire was in Rudolph's reign much affected by the incessant wars in France and the Netherlands. Shortly before Rudolph's accession, in 1572, three events happened of great significance for the Empire, too: The massacre of St. Bartholomew embittered in all countries relations between Catholics and Protestants to the utmost and aroused the suspicion of the latter that they had to expect similar outrages. In the Netherlands William of Orange raised the banner of revolution against Spain's tyranny. In France the Catholics were the democratic party and the Calvinists embraced an aristocratic republicanism. But the Dutch revolution gave rise to a democratic Calvinism too. Since the House of Habsburg reigned both in Spain and in Germany, the Calvinists everywhere regarded this dynasty as their arch-enemy, and worked for its overthrow. In Germany the Calvinists passionately sided with the Dutch, and the Catholics with the Spaniards. In the same year of 1572 Poland became an elective monarchy, and the rule of the aristocracy initiated a development which in the name of Freedom eventually led to the total loss of Polish freedom. But for a long time the aristocratic parties in the Estates of Germany, Austria,

Bohemia and Hungary saw in Polish liberty their ideal.

In Germany the struggles between Catholics and Protestants about the posts of bishops entered a critical stage in Cologne. A nobleman Gerhard Truchsess von Waldburg had been elected Archbishop, but later, wishing to marry his mistress, he became a Calvinist, and was deposed by the Pope. His life was a public scandal and he was dead-drunk every day. Bavaria put up as candidate Ernest, the son of the ruling Duke, though his morality too was very objectionable. Hostilities broke out which threatened to become a great European war. The Calvinist champion, John Casimir of the Palatinate did his best to bring it about, hoping with France's and England's help to acquire Cologne and other territories for himself. Eventually the Catholic party got the upper hand (1586). The Bavarian dynasty was now richly rewarded for its defence of the old Church. Duke Ernest already enjoyed a number of profitable ecclesiastical dignities, among them three bishoprics. He now became in addition Archbishop and Elector of Cologne and Bishop of Muenster. After his death Bavarian princes succeeded to his dignities and acquired four further Westphalian bishoprics. In this way the Bavarian House established its power over a large area in North West Germany. For two centuries it was always a Bavarian prince who became Archbishop of Cologne. The accumulation of high offices was contrary to the decrees of the Council of Trent and was reluctantly granted by the Pope to gratify Bavaria. This success, and the result of other similar struggles, went far to encourage the Catholic party, and to strengthen their power. In 1590 the first German prince, the highly cultured Margrave James of Baden-Hochberg, returned to the old faith mainly owing to the influence of his physician Dr. Pistorius, a former Lutheran.

The most important victory of the Counter-Reformation, however, was the reconquest of Austria. In the greater part of the Austrian countries Lutheranism had made such progress that it embraced the majority of the people. The nobles were its champions and incessantly pressed the Austrian rulers to grant full liberty for their creed. But also large sections of the burghers and peasants professed it. The Estates which were dominated by the nobility had in the Austrian countries reached an extraordinary power. The ruling archdukes depended on their willingness to vote taxes, and the Estates kept also the administration of the finances and the military forces firmly in their hands. Emperor Maximilian II who was tolerant and friendly to Protestantism had granted the Austrian nobles substantial freedom of religion. Many

of the nobles showed real religious zeal making sacrifices for their faith and caring generously for churches and schools in its service. But numerous others saw in it mainly an instrument for their own profit. They seized Church property and income without legal justification and did not care whether their parish churches fell in ruins or whether the Protestant preachers could subsist. Some enjoyed offending the feelings of the Catholics by acts such as sending their servants with horses into the Cathedral of St. Stephen in Vienna. The privileges granted to the noblemen did not extend to the other classes. When Archduke Charles was compelled to make them further concessions he refused to do it in a form binding his successor. But the nobles found ways to circumvent the restrictions. They permitted, for example, the burghers to attend Protestant services in their mansions. Many put pressure on their subjects to become Protestants. For a long time the rulers had to tolerate such acts. The Turkish danger forced them to avoid great conflicts with the Estates which held the strings of the purse.

The actions and claims of the Estates raised also fundamental constitutional issues, namely the questions whether a prince was entitled to interfere in religious matters and whether the Estates might use their power to enforce legislation in the interest of the new faith. Even in England the decision in Church questions was a royal prerogative, and Queen Elizabeth systematically vetoed religious bills introduced in Parliament. The Estates of Upper Austria were quite predominantly Lutheran. But their leader was a militant Calvinist Baron Georg Erasmus Tschernembl, whose cousins Erasmus and Reichard Starhemberg, too, belonged to his faith. Tschernembl had studied law at various foreign universities, was widely travelled and knew the political theories of the Huguenots. He stood for the Sovereignty of the People, represented by the nobility. The Habsburgs had reason to be afraid that behind the demand of the Estates for religious liberty there was actually the striving for a republican aristocracy in which the ruler would only have the shadow of power.

The Catholic counter-offensive was opened by the Jesuits who organised education in a new spirit and exercised great influence as preachers. A remarkable personality among them was Georg Scherer, the son of poor parents, who was castigating all those oppressing the people, and attacking the ignorance and brutality of many nobles. He thereby also hit the class which was the backbone of Protestantism. One of the Lutherans whom he converted was Melchior Klesl, the son of a baker, who became Bishop,

Cardinal, the principal statesman and one of the greatest promoters of the Counter-Reformation in Austria. But like other leading churchmen such as the Bishop Georg Stobaeus of Palmberg he was strongly against bloodshed which would only create martyrs and further the cause of Protestantism. The Catholic offensive got into its stride in the eighties and nineties of the sixteenth century. In Inner-Austria the accession of Archduke Ferdinand (1596) initiated a period of ruthless suppression of the new faith. In the territories under his rule decrees were issued ordering that all the Protestant preachers and teachers had to leave the country within a fortnight. The burghers and peasants had forthwith to return to Catholicism. Failing this, they should sell their houses and fields and emigrate, taking their capital with them, after having paid a tax of ten per cent on their property. Commissioners accompanied by platoons of soldiers were sent round the country to enforce the decrees. In some places the Protestants seemed ready to offer armed resistance, but then submitted. There was no bloodshed. The nobles were not forced to change their religion, but they lost their preachers, churches and schools.

In these struggles the nobles showed a rather weak attitude, which was partly due to unrest among the peasants. When the Estates of Upper and Lower Austria had to vote high taxes for defence against the Turks, they put the burden on their peasants, and many used the opportunity to extort more from them for their own profit. This led to great risings of the peasants (1594-97), who also protested against the compulsory restoration of Catholicism. Some voiced also the demand for liberty as in Switzerland. In negotiations the peasants offered to work for the lords on twelve days in a year, while the latter demanded twenty-four days. The imperial government intervened and fixed fourteen days, deciding also other points in favour of the peasants. The nobles were furious, and Tschernembl, who represented them in the negotiations with the government advocated a ruthless policy against the peasants. In Upper-Austria his cousin Gotthard of Starhemberg, a radical Calvinist, at the head of mercenaries put down the movement. In Lower-Austria the government suppressed it, but also declared that the feudal burdens must be relieved. These events show one of the reasons why the nobles in the various provinces did not vigorously fight for their religious demands. When the compulsory conversion of the middle and lower classes set in, the nobles protested, but did not go farther. Their own religious freedom was not impaired and they felt no solidarity with the other classes. The other reason of their

attitude was the aggravation of the Turkish danger. Radicals among the nobles declared that if their faith was seriously threatened they would make an alliance with the Turks. But the majority of the nobility refused the idea of starting a civil war and weakening the government when the Turkish army might overrun and devastate their home country.

German politics in the closing years of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth century must be seen against the background of international politics which had the greatest influence on German public opinion. In 1589 the French Crown had by heredity passed to Henry IV of Navarre, the leader of the Calvinists, who then acquired also the royal power by means of war and by adopting the Catholic faith to which the great majority of the French people were clinging. The King pursued a policy of enlightened absolutism aiming at tolerance, national unity, economic prosperity and military strength. In the time of civil war prominent French statesmen had pronounced that the best remedy for internal discord was a glorious war against foreign enemies, and Henry IV shared this opinion even after the internal pacification had been achieved. On the other hand Spain had through endless wars and owing to her disastrous political and economic system sunk into a state of complete exhaustion, and financial breakdown. She made peace with France and soon tried to achieve peace with the Netherlands too. Holland before long entered a period of national greatness as a maritime and commercial power and in culture, but her strict Calvinism soon led to great internal struggles. The founder of the United Netherlands, the great statesman John Oldenbarneveldt, became a victim of fanatical Calvinism and was executed (1619).

Political conditions in the Empire constantly deteriorated. In that time it frequently happened in many countries that one of the religious parties called foreign troops to their rescue. For this purpose German Calvinist princes had made expeditions to France, and Spanish and Dutch troops occupied German frontier regions. The people were often terribly pillaged and maltreated by the foreign mercenaries. But Germany was quite unable to defend herself against such encroachments. Relations between Catholics and Protestants were poisoned by the fact that the latter had in defiance of the Religious Pacification annexed hundreds of ecclesiastical territories and estates. The increasing assaults of the Turks compelled the Emperor often to apply to the Reichstag for financial aid which usually after

long haggling was granted. The Calvinists and their supporters constantly attempted to make the vote of aids conditional on the fulfilment of far-reaching religious demands but the Catholics steadfastly refused them. The principal Lutheran princes usually took a middle point of view and tried to achieve compromises between the extremists on both sides. Though the Protestants were the majority of the people the Catholics possessed the majority in the Reichstag owing to the numerous ecclesiastical princes. The Catholics deprived of their lands appealed to the High Court, the Reichs-Kammergericht. But the strife between the parties brought it to a standstill. The Emperor therefore began to employ his Aulic Council—originally destined for his own lands—also as High Court for the Empire. The Protestants, however, refused to recognise it because they were not adequately represented in the Imperial Aulic Council. It happened repeatedly that members of the Reichstag contended that in the voting of aids the minority was not bound by the vote of the majority. This was then also extended to religious questions. In 1608 the Reichstag was broken up by the secession of the Calvinist Party.

The leaders of the Calvinists often proposed that all Protestants should form a common front against the Catholics, whom they accused of planning the violent abolition of the Religious Peace and the extermination of Protestantism. As long as the Elector Augustus reigned in Saxony they had no luck. But under his successor Christian I a union between the Calvinists and Lutherans seemed on the way. The Saxon Chancellor Dr. Crell, a secret Calvinist, worked for this aim. But his enemies in the Estates, in the Lutheran Clergy, and at the Court got the upper hand. He was impeached, sentenced to death, and executed.

The tension between the parties was further aggravated by a conflict between them in the small Free Town of Schwaebisch-Gmuend. Both sides behaved in a provocative manner, and there were riots against the Catholics. The Imperial Aulic Council tried to uphold the legal position laid down in the Religious Peace, but the Protestant preachers raged against law and order; Calvinist princes encouraged them, the town was at last put under the ban, and Maximilian of Bavaria was entrusted with the execution of this judgment. He occupied the town (1607) and was permitted to keep it as a pawn until the high cost of his action had been paid. This aroused the greatest indignation of the Protestants.

A further question which agitated the German princes for many years was the prospective succession to the rulership in

the rich lands of Juelich-Cleve-Berg (largely identical with the present Rhinelands-Westphalia), when the ruling dynasty, which was Catholic, should die out. This could be foreseen for a long time, and it occurred in 1609. There were many claimants and the legal position was most complicated. Emperor Rudolph wished to have the question decided by his High Court, the Imperial Aulic Council, and hoped that the claims of loyal Saxony would prevail; and that he could then acquire the country by agreement, compensating her with some of his territories. Two of the claimants, however, the Palsgrave of Neuburg and the Elector of Brandenburg, both Protestants, jointly occupied the country. The Catholics were infuriated by this new breach, to their detriment, of the constitutional law and the fiery Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau and Strassburg, was appointed Imperial Commissary, took military measures, and prepared for a showdown. On the other hand many Protestant princes and foreign powers were opposed to the policy of the Emperor. Germany was on the brink of a great war.

This question and that of Schwaebisch-Gmuend contributed in 1608 to the conclusion of a Union of most Protestant princes of both denominations, and of a few Free Towns. The Elector of Saxony, however kept aloof from the Union. The Count Palatine, head of the Calvinist Party, became its director. The Union was to defend the Protestant interests, a great army and ample means were to be raised, and an alliance was to be concluded with King Henry IV—though the latter had for political reasons become a Catholic, and favoured the Jesuits. The originator of the Union was Prince Christian of Anhalt, who was also the leading Palatine statesman. He was an ardent Calvinist, and had for many years worked constantly to overcome all difficulties which separated the Protestants. Many members of the Union, especially the towns, did not wish to embark on an aggressive war; they distrusted the French King, and hesitated to make an alliance with him. Yet Prince Christian and the King finally achieved it; and they won also the Netherlands, King James of England and Duke Charles Emmanuel of Savoy.

Christian of Anhalt and Henry IV certainly had much farther-reaching plans than the majority of the members of the Union suspected. They hoped to overthrow the Habsburgs by organising a concentric attack of their numerous enemies on them. The French King had no reason at all to fear the Emperor, and Spain too was no longer a danger. Nor had Germany given him any reason for aggression. The German princes who had made

expeditions to France had been called by his own party. Henry IV therefore raised the argument that his intention was to restore the Balance of Power disturbed by the Habsburgs. His statesman Sully has even stated in his memoirs that the King had harboured the great plan of converting Europe into a 'Christian Republic' of fifteen states of equal might which would guarantee perpetual peace, and combine to drive the Turks out of Europe. Historical research has shown that no such plan ever existed. Henry IV obviously wanted to establish French supremacy in Europe, and he prepared for this by his extensive military, diplomatic, and financial measures. Turkey was to him a very welcome ally against the Habsburgs, and whenever there was a prospect of peace in Eastern Europe Henry IV intervened, instigating the Sultan to continue the war.

The foundation of the Union induced Duke Maximilian of Bavaria to form a similar organisation, called the League, with a number of Catholic princes (1609). He obtained from Spain a promise of help, while the Pope declined his support in order not to anger Henry IV. The Habsburgs were excluded from membership since Maximilian was jealous of them. In May 1610 Henry IV was ready to open the war, but on the eve of his departure he was murdered by a Catholic partisan, Ravallac. The outbreak of a great European war was thereby postponed. France and Spain came to a friendly understanding, which was confirmed by two marriages between members of their dynasties.

The Juelich-Cleve question caused much further trouble, and in 1614 the situation had again reached a stage where a great war seemed almost unavoidable. The Union and the League were ready-armed, and Dutch and Spanish troops had entered the disputed territories. The two rivals sought to strengthen their positions by changing their religion. Count Palatine Wolfgang Wilhelm, a scion of the leading Calvinist house, but personally a Lutheran, converted to Catholicism, and Margrave Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg, a Lutheran, became a Calvinist. The latter, however, declared that he did not want to compel his subjects to follow his example but left it to their discretion. At last a partition of the territories of Juelich-Cleve was agreed between them.

The Emperor's melancholic and abnormal state of mind had become increasingly worse: he distrusted his nearest relatives, feared to be murdered, and withdrew from the world, devoting himself to his priceless art collections. He became nearly inaccessible, and statesmen had to bribe his valet in order to approach

him. His main counsellor, Hanniwald, was extremely hostile to the Protestants and the Estates. This led to many encroachments on their rights and interests. The victory of the Counter-Reformation in Austria had greatly encouraged the champions of the Catholic cause and the monarchical authority, and they now made efforts to realise their principles also in the other Habsburg countries. The Hungarian, Bohemian, Moravian and Austrian Estates raised strong protests, and held common meetings to discuss joint resistance and close co-operation. In Transylvania and Hungary a revolt, backed by Turkey, broke out. This state of things aroused the apprehensions of the Emperor's brothers, who chose Matthew, the oldest of them, to take matters in his hands. His principal adviser was Melchior Klesl, Bishop of Vienna, who was the protagonist in making Austria Catholic again. As a statesman, however, he stood for a policy of moderation and compromise. Matthew allied himself with the Estates, making them far-reaching promises. The Bohemian Estates alone remained loyal to the Emperor. Matthew thereupon, backed by armed force, compelled Rudolph to cede him Hungary, Austria and Moravia, and the succession in Bohemia. The Estates were granted by him full religious freedom and an almost republican autonomy. The Pope declared that Matthew was a protector of heretics, and under the ban; and the latter considered how he could revoke some of his concessions. In Bohemia in 1609 the Estates forced the Emperor to grant them a charter, called *Majestaetsbrief* guaranteeing religious freedom to Protestants and Bohemian Brethren of every rank, even to the peasants. A pact between the parties regulated the right of building churches; Silesia received the same concessions. The Bohemian Estates, however, soon came to the conclusion that the Emperor was impossible as a ruler, and they made Matthew King. The Emperor retained merely titles without power. Nevertheless he made efforts to regain power, but died in 1612.

Matthew was elected Emperor. Though he had been very active in striving to obtain power, after his accession he showed little energy and left the government to Klesl. He was old, had no children and was very pessimistic about the future. In a letter to Archduke Ferdinand he said that in Hungary he was completely powerless; he was at the end of his resources in trying to maintain the domination of their House; after his death the Habsburg Empire would fall to pieces. Most of the Estates actually showed an attitude confirming these apprehensions. They refused the Emperor's demand for troops to reconquer Transsylvania and to

wage war against the Turks. The government was, however, able to conclude favourable pacts with Prince Bethlen Gabor of Transylvania and with Turkey. In Hungary and Bohemia there were parties inclined to transfer the crown to another dynasty. In 1615 a general Diet of all the Estates was convoked, to negotiate a federation of their countries on the basis of Protestantism. The Hungarians, however, did not appear; they were not interested in a federation with the other countries, though they wanted money from them for defence against the Turks. All the other countries, also Moravia, feared the predominance of Bohemia. No agreement was reached. The Bohemian Estates showed a strong Czech nationalism: they resolved that the debates in the Estates should be in Czech only, that in lawsuits no other language was admissible, that every new citizen and his child must learn it, and that German education and preaching was to be subject to great restrictions.

In the time of the Counter-Reformation public opinion was expressed in thousand of books, pamphlets and broadsheets, as well as in manifestos, sermons and popular songs. Germany was also the first country in which periodical newspapers appeared. The earliest journals came out in South German towns towards the end of the sixteenth century; but they were merely concerned with news, not with propaganda. Every important political event, however, provoked the publication of a flood of polemical pamphlets. A closer discussion of their contents is here impossible. We must refer to the works of Janssen, Stieve, Krebs and Lorenz who have analysed many of them. Each of the three great parties attacked the two other ones in the most acrimonious way and with vulgar abuse. Luther himself had set this tone, and his epigones continued his tradition. The theological controversies soon led to the treatment of historical questions. The Protestants set out to show that their creed was the old Christian faith as taught and practised by Jesus, the Apostles and the early fathers, and that the Papacy was founded on adulterations introduced later. Matthias Flacius Illyricus directed a team of Lutheran scholars in elaborating a voluminous work on Church history, which was written with great learning, but was tainted with fanaticism. The Catholic view of ecclesiastical history was put forward in the equally learned works of Caesar Baronius and Robert Bellarmine.

Besides these scholarly books a great many others were written for popular consumption. Flacius and his school, in particular, were indefatigable in spreading the most filthy fables, such

as the stories of the alleged Popess Johanna, an 'English whore', or of six thousand children's skulls found in the pond of a nunnery. Such stories became the stock in trade of innumerable preachers and writers. The Catholics retorted by disparaging Luther's personality. But the Protestants fired broadsides of abuse against Ignatius Loyola and against Cardinal Bellarmine, a man of impeccable character, who was described as a wholesale adulterer, sodomite and criminal. The most important writer of German poetry, Johann Fischart was an ardent Calvinist and possessed extraordinary talents. In his satires he pictured the Catholic Church as an assembly of the worst rogues and villains, whose priests had been permitted free use of other people's wives. A Catholic parallel was the Jesuit Bishop Nas, a former Lutheran, who called all Lutheran women adulterers. When severely censured for this calumny he declared he had meant it in a spiritual sense—since Lutheranism was nothing but adultery against God.

Numerous books and pamphlets discussed the Religious Pacification and questions of morality in politics. Utterances of Catholic writers aroused the suspicion that their party—and in particular the Jesuits—did not regard this statute as permanently valid, but would abrogate it as soon as they had the power. The Jesuits were further charged with teaching that a pledged word must not be kept towards heretics. In vain the Jesuits declared that this was not their doctrine, that they recognised the Religious Peace as binding and did not advocate the breach of solemn obligations towards Protestants. A further charge against the Jesuits, which was much discussed, was that they approved assassination of kings and rebellions against them if they were disobedient to the Pope.

Despite all the violent polemics of theologians and pamphleteers it was not primarily religious hatred which brought about the Thirty Years War. Religious antagonism was only one of the numerous forces preparing the soil for this catastrophe. In many cases religious arguments did not mainly spring from real piety, but from the interest of justifying political actions, though this does not mean that they were not believed by the politicians putting them forward. Religion was also a symbol of national personality and aspirations. National unity, liberty and greatness seemed to demand the domination of one religion, and preferably one opposed to that of the national enemy. In Hungary the nobles who were the spokesmen of national independence were Calvinists, and called their creed the Magyar Religion. The burghers were German colonists and Lutherans.

Their creed was called the German Religion. In Bohemia a Bohemian Confession was created which comprised very different religious elements. In Germany, however, national aspirations were by far too weak to exercise a similar influence.

It is a wide-spread mistake to ascribe the outbreak of the great war merely to one of the religious parties. In all parties there were intransigents and advocates of conciliation. Both in the Lutheran and the Catholic camp the policy of moderation was strongly represented. Lutheran Saxony, in particular, always stood for peace and conciliation. Among the Catholics there were many divergent tendencies. The Habsburgs had good reasons to make a cautious policy, and Klesl was its chief representative. The Catholic intransigents gathered round the Archduke Ferdinand, but it required the Bohemian revolution to bring them to power. The principal fomenter of unrest and of warlike plans were the Calvinists, or more specifically Christian of Anhalt. Without him the Thirty Years War may not have broken out. Though he believed in his religion, his motives were quite predominantly political. Nevertheless, the martial character of Calvinism was also a major factor in the causes of the great war.

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ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

IN the closing Middle Ages Germany had reached an outstanding stage of economic and cultural development. This was mainly due to her numerous town republics allowing freedom to individual initiative and making in many respects a beneficial municipal policy. Economic life was farther advanced than in England and France and equalled that of Italy, where town republics were also widespread. But the discoveries overseas rendered Portugal and Spain, Holland, France and England great commercial and maritime nations, while the lack of a strong central power excluded Germany from acquiring colonies and a share in the new sources of wealth. The colonial powers did not admit foreign traders to the exploitation of their possessions overseas. Charles V, however, made an exception for German merchants and bankers whose financial support was indispensable for him. They undertook several expeditions to the new world, and were foremost at the Antwerp exchange, which became a centre of colonial trade. The financial magnates of Augsburg and Nuremberg, moreover, were in close relations with Popes, emperors, kings and other rulers to whom they gave loans at high interests and from whom they received many valuable concessions. But this position eventually became disastrous to them. Spain and other States got through endless wars into such financial straits that they could not honour their obligations. The civil wars in France, the sack of Antwerp, and other political events, inflicted on the great German financiers enormous losses. Some of them became bankrupt, others were nearly ruined, and this experience broke the spirit of enterprise. The epigones tended to withdraw from business and to live on the interest of their capital. Their

fathers already had received titles of nobility and had bought large estates. The descendants of the pioneers of large scale enterprise became wealthy and cultured noblemen, but played no longer a part in history.

In northern Germany the decline of the Hanse continued. The Scandinavian kings definitely emancipated the commerce of their realms from the predominance of the Hanse traders by cancelling their privileges, and the Dutch ever more gained preponderance in the Baltic trade and navigation. The Reformation exercised great influence on the course of events. The merchant oligarchy of the Hanse towns opposed its progress, but the democratic artisans embraced the new faith, and found a fiery leader in Juerg Wullenweber. In 1531 the democrats won power in Luebeck and other important towns. Wullenweber broke with the cautious policy of the old regime, and pursued spirited and adventurous plans of spreading democracy and Protestantism over all northern countries under the lead of Luebeck. The greatness of this city and the rights of the Hanse were to be restored. But this bold policy was faced with an overwhelming coalition of enemies and Wullenweber lost power and life. His downfall contributed to the rapid further decline of the Hanse.

In England the expansion of the Merchant Adventurers in rivalry with the Hanse received the full support of Queen Elizabeth and her ministers. The privileges of the Hanse were curtailed, but the Queen was prepared to grant the German merchants favourable conditions, if English traders would receive the same treatment in Germany. This the Hanse refused, and it appealed to Emperor Rudolph II for protection. A trade war between England and Germany followed, which ended in favour of English trade. The Hanse could to a certain extent make good their losses by increasing their trade in new markets. Yet German trade could not keep pace with the colonial nations owing to the lack of national unity and power, but also because these nations drew from their overseas expansion enormous wealth with which the Hanse merchants could not compete.

The rise of strong national States was accompanied by that of an economic policy called Mercantilism. Its aim was the increase of the greatness and power of the State by stimulating the development of all the economic resources of the country, in particular those bringing gold and silver into it. The kings needed much money for the building of modern States, for aggrandisement, and for the expenses of their courts. Mercantilism was an alliance between the nascent forces of the powerful State,

nationalism and capitalism. But Germany was neither a nation in the political sense, nor a State; it possessed only small rudiments of a central administration, and almost no sense of national solidarity. The greater territorial princes made use of the methods of mercantilism, which were propagated by a school of writers called Cameralists. But most German States were too small for such a policy, which demanded a large territory to be effective. Mercantilism laid special stress on promoting industries for export. Capitalists, mainly of foreign origin, employed great numbers of cheap cottage workers in rural districts, where trade guilds did not exist. The trade guilds felt threatened by this system and the landed nobility was of divided opinions. Many landowners later introduced cottage work among their serfs. The Protestant theologians mostly shared Luther's hatred of capitalism and his predilection for agriculture and this influenced their judgment.

In the middle ages Germany had been a great producer of silver, but later output decreased, partly through the competition of American silver. The increase in the import of silver led to inflation, and by the end of the sixteenth century prices had risen threefold. This had far-reaching consequences for social relations, and aroused strong feelings against big business which was made responsible for the excessive cost of living. The American silver and gold flowed through Spain and Portugal mainly to the Netherlands and England, who used it to finance great enterprises and who had also great profits from their colonial trade. These countries had sound currency conditions. The English kings had early been able to secure the right of coinage exclusively to themselves. But in Germany it had passed into the hands of countless rulers. Almost every prince or town had its own coins. Monetary matters were, moreover, regarded from a narrow fiscal point of view, as a means to enrich the ruler. The debasing of the coinage was a very frequent, often annual, procedure of the treasuries to draw money out of the subjects' pockets. In many territories, the rulers found it also profitable to have in every region a different coinage. Gresham's economic law, that the co-existence of different systems leads to the disappearance of the better coins, was in Germany constantly in operation, and resulted in a growing deterioration of the monetary value. Many emperors, princes and towns made attempts to create a sound currency, improvements were achieved, but conditions were still unsatisfactory. An expert, B. Albrecht, said in 1606 in a memorandum to the Emperor, that about five thousand different sorts

of coins were in circulation, and that it was often impossible to know where they came from. There was also a bewildering multitude of weights and measures. Most German coins were unacceptable to foreign merchants. A considerable improvement for the wholesale trade of Hamburg was, however, effected by the foundation of the Bank of Hamburg (1619). It introduced a new unit, the Mark-Banco, based on silver deposits, and could be used for clearing purposes.

A major obstacle to economic progress were the trade guilds. The time when they played a role beneficial to the community had passed, and they now mainly aimed at securing for their members a monopoly at the expense both of the consumers and of all others wishing to earn a living in their trade. The trade guilds invented ever more restrictions against newcomers. Improved methods of production were suppressed. Among the workers social unrest was rampant and often led to riots. The trade guilds, moreover, were particularly hostile to industrial workers in rural areas, and wanted to exclude them from competition.

The Reichstag was often occupied with complaints concerning the guilds or their workers and passed enactments designed to effect reforms, in the sixteenth century alone seven times. As laws of the Reichstag, however, were seldom effective, the territorial rulers later took the matter in their hands; they decreed reforms and tended to replace the numerous local guild regulations by a statute valid for their whole country. Moreover, many rulers and towns granted exceptions from the rigid guild rules. Foreign industrialists were permitted to found factories, the immigration of refugees, skilled in trades, was encouraged and in rural areas home work was promoted. The guilds put up stiff resistance to every reform and often frustrated its working. In England and France the strong central power was earlier able to overcome the monopolistic abuses of the trade corporations, and thereby to pave the way for the rise of great industries. The opposition of the trade guilds to the introduction of machines existed also in other countries. But it seems that it was more obstructive in Germany than elsewhere. The English poet Owen said in his Latin epigrams (1612): the Germans invent the machines, but we have the talent to improve them and to make practical use of them. Various cases are known of German towns which in the seventeenth century prohibited the use of labour-saving machines. In Saxony a court preacher and confessor of the Elector declared the question of machines as one of conscience, because they might cause unemployment.

Further obstacles to economic progress were the backwardness of communications, the numerous tolls on transport, and the insecurity. All these conditions were a consequence of the multitude of small States, and the absence of a strong central authority. Through-roads could often not be built or improved because one of the small rulers concerned was not interested, or would have desired another route more favourable to his interests. Yet long distance roads were constructed largely through the efforts of the Counts of Thurn and Taxis, who in 1595 became Postmasters General of the Empire and had the privilege to run a postal service. But the greater rulers did not recognise it and organised posts of their own.

Germany was further dotted with innumerable toll houses situated on rivers and roads, at frontiers, bridges and town gates. In the Middle Ages already the numerous river tolls on the Rhine had made an English observer comment on 'the strange folly of the Germans'. In the seventeenth century there were on the Rhine from Strassburg to the Dutch frontier thirty toll houses, on the Main between Bamberg and Frankfort thirty-three, on the Elbe from the Moldau to Hamburg forty-seven, and so on. After the Thirty Years War all the mouths of the great German rivers were dominated by foreign powers, who levied high tolls on German trade.

In the period of nascent large scale production and world trade Germany was therefore greatly handicapped by her excessive particularism. The only side from which improvements could be expected were the rulers of greater territories. The Free Towns, which had played such a splendid role in developing wealth, civilisation and free institutions, were declining. The princes, whose territories enclosed them, used every possible means to put pressure on them, such as the cutting off of supplies or the impeding of their traffic. The freedom of a town was based on old privileges which often were ambiguous or left points open, and the princes used this to claim sovereignty over the town. In the course of the seventeenth century many towns had to subordinate themselves to a prince, though they mostly retained a considerable measure of autonomy. On the other hand many princes founded new towns or encouraged the growth of old ones; they settled in them religious refugees from France, England or the Netherlands, and created conditions which were more favourable for industrial development than in the Free Towns dominated by the trade guilds or small cliques.

The peasants had already in the later Middle Ages reached

conditions which in most territories remained almost unchanged until modern times. The old serfdom with its compulsory services had mostly disappeared, and where it had legally survived, it had in practice changed to the obligation to pay certain fees. The increase of precious metals from America and the rise in prices caused by it improved the position of the peasants, since the landlords were often unable to raise rents too. Princes, moreover, sometimes wished to protect the peasants from higher burdens in the interest of their fiscus. Much depended, however, on how far a prince was dependent on the Estates, who were always striving to enlarge the rights of the landed nobility over their tenants. On the whole, the power of the nobles prevented any real reforms. The North East of Germany, however, showed a development differing from the rest of Germany. In contrast to most other territories where the knights lived merely on the rents and other dues received from their tenants, in Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein etc. they were farmers cultivating their estates themselves. The export of their crops by sea was profitable and they had, therefore, an interest to enlarge their farms. But this required more labourers too. The squires, therefore, were striving both to acquire as much as possible of the land of the peasants, and to depress them to the status of labourers. Free tenants were in consequence converted into a new class of serfs, bound to the soil and compelled to work for the squires. This process began already in the late Middle Ages, it assumed momentum in the sixteenth century and reached its peak after the Thirty Years War.

In the North East, therefore, the conditions of the peasants tended to deteriorate. But in many other regions of Germany, too, they were in a more or less unfavourable condition. The merely legal emancipation of a section from serfdom did not necessarily improve their lot, and might even make it worse. Under the feudal system the landlords had certain obligations to their serfs, they could not arbitrarily deprive them of their land, were subject to decisions of the manorial courts in which the serfs had votes as judges, and had to support them in case of need. When a serf became a free man, these obligations vanished. Moreover, the ruling and possessing classes were now laying much more stress than before on using every opportunity to make money. The administration of States was expensive and required the introduction of new taxes. The emancipation of serfs had given them freedom to leave the land of their lords and to go where they wanted. But in practice this had become

difficult: the era of colonisation in the East had closed, the State often prohibited emigration, and the towns refused admission to poor newcomers who might compete with the master artisans, or become a social burden.

Many factors, therefore, tended to depress the lot of the peasants again. A number of pastors, schoolmasters and writers of sermons, plays and tracts took the side of the peasants against their oppressors. In 1578 the humanist Nicodemus Frischlin, Professor at Tübingen, gave a lecture violently attacking the nobles. The peasants, he declared, were better than their lords. He even advised them to resist their doings. The nobles retorted sharply and attempts were made to kill the bold orator. The ruler Duke Ludwig, however, protected him. Yet he had at last to resign his post.

Despite many unfavourable tendencies it is doubtful whether in the second half of the sixteenth century there was a definite economic decline. Germany was so large and possessed in her three thousand towns, her agriculture, woods and mines such resources that even great losses may have been compensated by other developments. The population was rising. A number of studies on the finances of towns and other data collected by Th. Mayer show that the values taxed and trade increased up to the great war. It was a great advantage that Germany enjoyed a long period of peace. In the late sixteenth century many towns were decorated with beautiful town halls, guild-halls, monuments etc., and many princes and rich burghers built palaces and houses of great artistic value. This seems to indicate a time of prosperity. Many academies and higher schools were founded. Montaigne on his journey through southern Germany (1582) admired the fine buildings in the towns, which he preferred to those in France. The great French politician and publicist Jean Bodin wrote in his classic work on the State (1577) that the Germans had made such progress that they surpassed in humanity the Asiatics, (by which he meant the old Persians), in military discipline the Romans, in religion the Hebrews, in philosophy the Greeks, in mathematics the Egyptians and Phenicians, in astrology the Chaldeens and in many industries all other nations. He hoped that the French and Germans would conclude a pact of permanent peace and friendship.

Yet Germany did not at that time keep pace with other nations in great literature and art. In the first half of the sixteenth century she had possessed in Luther one of the greatest writers of all ages, and had artists of the first rank in Duerer, Holbein, Gruenewald,

Cranach, Stoss, Krafft, Vischer and Riemenschneider. In the second half of the century her literary and artistic creativeness declined. In England, France, the Netherlands, Italy and Spain, however, we find in this period a galaxy of splendid names. But in science Germany retained her rank; Copernicus and Kepler were second to none of the scientists of the age. One of the reasons why Germany lagged behind in great poetry and art was that she had no cultural centre where the court and society were the focus of the national civilisation, and where the human tragi-comedy was performed in a setting that could stimulate great writers and artists. The Renaissance element had remained much more alive in the West than at the small German courts, though there were a few short-lived exceptions. But in comparison with London or Paris German court-life and society were mostly dull and provincial. The religious interest was paramount, and left little room for other ideas. Quite a number of German princes read the Bible again and again, some every year from cover to cover. But this was not the atmosphere in which a Shakespeare could have formed his mind and found congenial encouragement. In England the Puritans later exercised a similar stunting influence on art. Germany was also lacking the strong national interest which inspired so many of the great French, English and Italian writers. The exploits of Arminius or the Hohenstaufens appealed only to a few scholars, and more recent German history offered no suitable subjects. The Empire was merely a dreary shadow which could not inspire a larger public with pride or ambition.

The Jews were at the beginning of the sixteenth century exposed to a new wave of persecution, instigated by the example of their expulsion from Spain. A section of the clergy proposed to expel them from Germany too, but the Emperor, and many princes and town magistrates, were against driving them out, since they appreciated them as payers of taxes. But their position was always threatened by fanatics, as, for example, the burning of thirty-eight Jews in Berlin showed (1510). It was later revealed that the charge of having desecrated a host was completely untrue, but that the Bishop of Brandenburg had concealed this fact for political reasons. He and the Estates wanted to hit by the trial the Elector, who had admitted more Jews to the country than they had wished. The real aim was to deprive the Elector of income from the Jews and to increase his dependence upon the Estates.

The campaign against the Jews had the result that they were expelled from many towns and territories, and at last only two

larger towns were left which tolerated them—though under restrictions—namely Frankfort and Worms. But German particularism mitigated their fate. In many cases they were welcomed by a neighbour ruler who hoped to profit by their financial efficiency. Very often, therefore, the Jews expelled from a town could settle quite near it under a different government, and from there continue their business. With the development of territorial States the financial needs of the rulers increased, and ever more of them employed Jews as bankers, financial advisors and confidants. Many of these 'Court Jews' rose to very influential positions. This naturally aroused the greatest jealousy among the higher classes, who complained that their prince was dominated by a Jew. In Brandenburg, for example, Michel Jud of Derenburg was in 1543 appointed 'Supreme Privy Counsellor' by Elector Joachim II. He was engaged in political negotiations and the procurement of loans, war materials and merchandise, was in close relations with numerous princes and towns, and received privileges from emperors and rulers. When he travelled he was accompanied by a mounted following. His successor in the favour of the Elector was another Jew, Lippold of Prague, who rose to great power and was an intimate friend of the prince. When the latter suddenly died, however, he was charged with having given him a poisoned cup of wine; he was tortured and executed in a gruesome way. The new prince expelled all Jews from Brandenburg (1573), and for a century they were not admitted to this territory.

In 1548 Charles V enacted a new statute for the Jews, granting them certain alleviations of their situation. They were permitted to take higher interests than others because they had to bear higher expenses, and were excluded from all other ways of making a living. The Emperor was in general favourably disposed towards the Jews. They had for nearly half a century a very remarkable spokesman in Josel of Rosheim, an Alsatian Jew, who was indefatigable in defending them against unjust accusations. He travelled constantly from one court to the other, negotiated with those in power, attended every Reichstag and was many times received by the Emperor.

Luther had at first been friendly towards the Jews, and in a tract attacked the papists for their inhumane treatment of them (1523). But when his hope that the Jews would embrace Christianity was disappointed he became increasingly hostile. His last two tracts against the Jews (1543) are full of the worst brutalities. This attitude had a dismal influence on many followers of Luther,

though there were always Protestant preachers who disagreed with him. But there is no doubt that Luther's anti-Jewish fanaticism had the most unfortunate consequences for the future. Attempts of Protestant princes to treat the Jews fairly were often opposed by the Lutheran clergy. There is no doubt that intolerance against the Jews was worse among the Protestants than among the Catholics.

The Jewish question often occupied the Diet of the Empire. In 1530 it was proposed at the Reichstag of Augsburg to expel the Jews from all the south-eastern territories because they were spying for the Turks. Josel of Rosheim intervened and stopped this attempt. A baptised Jew, Antonius Margaritha, had published a book calumniating his former co-religionists. At the Reichstag Josel challenged him to a disputation, in which he refuted the accusations against the Jews. Margaritha thereupon went to Saxony where he won great influence on Luther, whose tracts against the Jews used his arguments.

At the Reichstag of Worms (1545) the Catholic party sharply attacked Luther's tracts against the Jews. Though they, too, advocated stringent measures against Jewish usury they declared 'it would not be acting in a Christian manner to do as Luther charges the preachers in a public pamphlet and put them to death, and let the devil devour them soul and body, and let them be persecuted, tortured, expatriated or beheaded.' The pamphlet, it was said, was a 'rabid book, breathing hatred and venom, and written as it were in blood; and it makes the common people thirst for plunder and bloodshed.'

The expulsion of the Jews from the towns compelled them to live mainly in small principalities and in predominantly rural regions. This put them in closer contact with the people; they bought cattle and grain from the squires and peasants, or they became pedlars providing the rural population with many articles. Many bought a house and some land. It was a great advantage that thereby they found other ways of earning a living than usury, and that they were no longer exposed to the fury of the artisans and the mob of the towns. In Frankfort and Worms under the influence of demagogues great riots broke out against the Jews and they were expelled (1614, 1615). But Emperor Matthias enforced their restoration and resumed from the towns the protectorate over the Jews. In Hamburg Portuguese refugees settled shortly before 1600. They were believed to be Catholics, but in reality were Jews who secretly practised their faith under the cloak of Christianity. When this became known the small traders

and artisans and the Protestant clergy demanded their expulsion. But the Senate who represented the greater merchants protected them and even permitted them the public exercise of the Jewish religion. The Senate had realised that they were a valuable element for Hamburg's commerce. They brought with them the knowledge of many new markets and of the trade with colonial products like sugar, tobacco and cotton. When the Bank of Hamburg was founded these Jews contributed a considerable part of the share capital.

In the Thirty Years War the Jews too had to suffer. But the places where they lived were mostly less affected by the direct ravages of the war. Many of them took part in the manifold financial operations connected with a war—from procuring loans and deliveries of goods to the trade in looted goods and clipping the coins.

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THE TERRITORIAL STATES

THE great religious struggles tended to increase the power of the princes not only in Germany but in most of the States of Europe. The Reformation gave them control of their Church and large possessions, the bitter strife between the religious parties called for a firm hand to enforce peace, and, besides, political, economic and social conditions demanded the demolition of the remnants of feudalism and the building of modern institutions, which only a strong government could achieve. The trend of the time was towards monarchical absolutism. In 1576 the French statesman and thinker Jean Bodin gave the classical exposition of monarchical sovereignty in his famous book on the State. The Estates General held in 1614 were the last before the great revolution. The French bourgeoisie preferred royal absolutism to the spirit of the nobility, which had discredited that parliamentary assembly.

In Germany the progress towards absolutism was slower. It is often believed that Luther brought it about and that Calvin was more progressive. Actually, Luther was indifferent to constitutional questions but sympathised more with the autonomous Free Towns than with princes. Melancthon and Calvin stood for Estates. It was Catholic princes who first reduced the power of the Estates, though chiefly for political reasons. The leading Calvinist state in Germany, the Rhine Palatinate, was one of the few which possessed no Diet at all. But most of the Lutheran principalities had Estates and their power was increasing. Lutheranism and the Estates were both conservative, the former from religious quietism, the latter from class interest. On the other hand it was energetic princes wishing to build a new State who

formed the vanguard of progress and had the support of the forerunners of liberalism.

The building of the administration was in many territories much influenced by the model of the Austrian countries. The Habsburgs early succeeded in creating central institutions for their many territories, which together were too great to be governed in a patriarchal way like so many small principalities in the Empire. In all their countries the Estates had great power, and in the age of the Counter-Reformation a great struggle broke out between them and the rulers.

In Saxony the partition of 1485 had created two lines, called the Albertine and the Ernestine, and in the beginning of the sixteenth century both were represented by excellent rulers, the Dukes Frederick and George. Their successors, too, were pious and conscientious, though less talented, but with Duke Maurice the Albertine branch produced a highly gifted, ambitious and unscrupulous ruler, who in his short reign acquired from the Emperor the electoral dignity and wide lands for his line at the expense of the other, created a modern administration, increased the monarchical power and made good use of the sequestered property of the Church to endow learned schools, though he himself had not had a higher education.

The Estates maintained their strong position, and even increased it. In 1539 Duke Henry confirmed their rights, and Maurice in 1548 assured them that they would also be heard about matters of war and peace. The Lutheran Church, too, exercised great influence through the court-preachers and the theologians of the consistory and the universities. Lutheranism dominated public opinion. A prince was to be a good housefather on the model of the patriarchs of the Old Testament. Every ambitious policy was condemned and warlike Calvinism was regarded as the voice of the devil. The nobles ever more shirked the fulfilment of their feudal military service and rather tried to make their farms as profitable as possible by increasing their land at the expense of their tenants. The burghers had substantial autonomy, they were trained to defend their walls and they alone had forces always ready. Mines and industries flourished, and the Leipzig trade fair became one of the greatest international markets. Saxony was also a main seat of learning. Luther had wanted every burgher to know Latin, and Leipzig was already a centre for the book trade. But the spread of wealth had also adverse consequences, such as unscrupulous money-making and gross immorality. The

persecution of witches cost the life of many victims, as everywhere in Europe.

A significant symptom of the level of economic development was a controversy in 1530-31 between the two lines of the dynasty carried on in a number of pamphlets. The Albertine branch defended with excellent arguments the stability of the currency and free trade, while the Ernestine put forward ideas of mercantilism and a currency devaluation. This controversy anticipated economic ideas which Thomas Mun and Colbert held more than a century later and which are famous in the history of economics. An Albertine tract also pointed out that God had created man free and that government was only there for the people, not the latter for the rulers. The wealth of the country should, therefore, not be used for the profit of the rulers but for the common weal.

An important treatise on the principles of good government was written by Melchior von Ossa, who had been the counsellor of five successive Dukes of Saxony and, besides, also the spokesman of the knights in the Diet. It contains many wise counsels based on great experience. The statesman particularly detested any warlike policy and religious intolerance. He always hoped that the Lutherans and the Catholics would at last re-unite in one Church. Though himself a nobleman he warns the Prince against noble courtiers who try to exploit his generosity and demands strict supervision of the patrimonial justice of the nobles. But he says nothing about the protection of the peasants against the machinations of the squires to get hold of their land. The Prince must preserve and efficiently manage his domains in order to spare the people high taxes. The promotion of the welfare of the people is a main duty of the Prince.

Maurice was succeeded by his brother Augustus (1553-86), who became the greatest ruler of the Electorate of Saxony. He was thoroughly peaceable, loyal to the Emperor, an orthodox Lutheran and a bitter enemy of Calvinism. Every year he read through the whole Bible, and in his old age still learned Hebrew. He was assisted by an excellent staff of counsellors and stressed that they had duties not only to him but also to the country. He also frequently consulted the Estates. Most of all he was a practical economist. He acquired vast lands, forests, and mines, greatly raised their productivity by incessant care for every detail and a strict accountancy, carried on a lucrative trade with their products and became very rich. The Elector was one of the first agricultural and industrial experts of his time and, like many

other princes, also eagerly practised alchemy. He was specially interested in metallurgy and coinage and laid great stress on a stable currency. On his journeys he carried with him improved seeds and new sorts of fruit trees, which he distributed, and taught the farmers progressive agricultural methods. Augustus endeavoured to obtain the closest knowledge of his country and to this purpose ordered the collection of accurate statistics of the population, crops, hospitals, etc. The land was surveyed and good maps made, though not for publication. Granaries were built to store grain for times of bad crops. The management of the forests was closely supervised, afforestation prescribed and the floating of timber regulated. A number of trades were made fiscal monopolies. The Duke even made a plan to establish a monopoly of the whole pepper trade for Germany and the north east of Europe, which he intended to finance himself. Mining and smelting were much improved and particular care was given to coal mining and the increase of the salt output.

Augustus invested much of his own money in new enterprises or gave loans to their founders. They also received privileges on the lines of our patents. Asylum was given to twenty thousand Netherlanders, who were refugees from religious persecution, bringing with them new industries, such as cotton spinning and weaving. In the poor mountain districts lace making was introduced and became a great production. A postal service was established, the merchants and their wagons received armed escort and the taking of five per cent interest was permitted, though still with certain restrictions. The Elector further tried to stimulate industries by methods of mercantilism, for example by prohibiting the export of certain raw materials.

Many decrees were issued to improve the living conditions of the peasants on the Duke's domains, for example by granting hereditary leases, and converting compulsory services and dues in kind into money rents. But like most other princes Augustus indulged in excessive hunting and his decrees concerning game were a heavy burden for the peasants. Officials and miners received their salaries now in money instead of in goods, which then was a novelty. Prices and wages were fixed and the use of luxury goods regulated.

In 1572 Saxony received a code of civil and penal law. The towns which exercised the jurisdiction raised strong protests against the introduction of certain rules of Roman law. They wanted to retain their customary Saxon law and lay judges. Leipsig went so far as to expel all jurists learned in Roman

law from the Town Council. The main originator of the innovations was the Chancellor Dr. Cracow, who also defended the right of the Prince to disregard old privileges granted, as he said, from ignorance and contrary to reason. In 1574 a censorship was introduced, and placed in the charge of the University of Leipsig. Augustus also did much for art and science and founded the Dresden library and collections of objects of art and nature and of scientific instruments. At the universities new chairs were endowed, for example for the French language, for history and for politics. Duelling was strictly prohibited. Nothing was too small to escape the eye of the ruler. Singing birds were not to be trapped, especially not in the time of breeding, and every house that had no proper privy was to be closed. The military force of the Elector consisted, in peace time, of a mounted life guard of five hundred men. In war the knights were bound to serve on horse, but as they were very reluctant the Elector wished to have this replaced by a fee in money.

Augustus enjoyed a great international reputation. Many foreign rulers consulted him or asked for copies of his decrees, in order to make use of them for their own countries. His relations with the Emperor Maximilian II were most cordial. With Elizabeth of England he was in constant correspondence. He was much devoted to his wife Anna, a Danish princess, who was indefatigable in caring for the welfare of the people and was generally called Mother Anne. She bore him fifteen children.

Augustus's successors were mediocre rulers indulging in excessive drinking and hunting. The decisive factor were the Estates, in particular the nobility. This naturally had unfavourable consequences for the position of the peasantry.

In Brandenburg the Hohenzollern in the sixteenth century followed a peaceful policy and remained loyal to the Emperor. They showed unusual skill in concluding marriages which promised them rights of succession if other Houses should die out. For three centuries the Hohenzollern increased their territories merely by inheritance and by treaties. For a long time yet they could not think of aggrandisement by arms, since they had everywhere to reckon with Estates opposed to anything which might increase the power of the Prince. The dominant element in the Diets were the knights, who, unlike those in most other territories, did not merely live on rents paid by their tenants but were farmers themselves. They sought to expand their lands at the expense of the peasants and to make these labourers on their own farms.

Under Joachim II the Reformation made decisive progress. The

knights and burghers went ahead and the Prince did not hinder them but insisted upon moderation. Brandenburg at that time had a remarkable statesman in the Chancellor Lampert Distelmeyer, the son of a tailor. As elsewhere the Estates reached the peak of their power shortly after the Reformation, in the second half of the sixteenth century. Joachim II had run into great debts, partly by extravagance and maladministration, and he could buy the financial help of his Estates only by great concessions. They actually obtained not only the confirmation of all their old privileges, but also the pledge that no important matter was to be settled by the Margrave without their advice and that they were to keep the proceeds of taxes in their own hands. The Estates actually became co-regents.

Under John George (1571-98) came the golden time of aristocratic liberty. The Elector granted the squires great rights at the expense of their tenants. They might burden them with the taxes which they had voted, buy them out of their land in case of disobedience, enclose the commons, increase the services owed by them, etc. The nobles used these rights in such a way that the Margrave was soon compelled to issue regulations against abuse, but without much success.

The indivisibility of the Brandenburg territories and their inheritance by primogeniture were at last definitely laid down (1599). In the same year the Estates raised new great demands for the extension of their powers over the peasants. When the Margrave Joachim Frederick objected to these propositions, they played the friends of the common man and conjured up the spectre of a social revolution. The Margrave had to submit to the squires, who shortly later demanded that peasants who complained about them to the Prince without sufficient cause should suffer corporal punishment, as also those who had incited them. In 1604, however, the Prince introduced an important institution designed to strengthen the central authority in founding the Privy Council. It was mainly composed of counsellors of foreign or middle-class origin. This was a challenge to the power of the nobility.

Under Joachim's successor John Sigismond (1608-19), the peaceful acquisition of Cleve-Mark and East-Prussia was achieved, and the Margrave adopted the Calvinist faith leaving it to his subjects whether they would follow him or not. He also leaned to the Calvinist side in international politics. The Prussian nobility would have much preferred to be incorporated in Poland, the paradise of aristocratic liberty. They sent envoys to Warsaw who so

violently inveighed against the Margrave that the King of Poland demanded they should apologise to him. The Margrave received Prussia as a Polish fief, but the country was for long more an aristocratic republic than a principality.

In the Thirty Years War both the Emperor and his enemies put the greatest pressure on Margrave George William, an ailing and weak ruler, to win his military support. The Estates, however, rejected adequate armaments which appeared to them as a threat to their liberties. They wished to remain neutral, and believed that they would be spared suffering by the war if they turned down demands for the defence of the country. Yet Brandenburg had terribly to suffer under the exactions, devastation and pillaging by the troops of all the belligerent powers.

Wurttemberg was a territory which in many respects was ahead of others in the development of modern institutions, such as indivisibility, a fixed residence, a uniform legislation designed to further the people's welfare and an effective administration. The Estates, however, arose later than in many other countries because the rulers were rich and did not need their financial aid. They were, however, convoked in the second half of the fifteenth century and soon obtained great influence. The knights were reluctant to appear as they did not want to make financial contributions. Their duty, they said, was only to defend the country. But Duke Ulric (1498-1550) got into financial difficulties and was compelled to assemble the Estates in order to obtain money.

In the Pact of Tuebingen (1514) the Duke reached his aim only by submitting to numerous demands of the Estates, critical of his rule. He had, in particular, to promise to wage war only with their advice or consent; not to punish anybody without judicial sentence; to curb the insolence of his courtiers; to suppress many abuses of his officials; to restrict damage by game; reduce certain feudal dues; abolish monopolies; permit emigration, and many other points. The importance of the pact lay in the fact that the Duke henceforth was obliged to consult his Estates and that every new ruler had to pledge himself to keep the pact, otherwise the country owed no obedience to him. The Duke was to defray the normal cost of government out of the income from his domains. The Estates, moreover, kept the management of the financial aid voted in their own hands and had their own treasury and tax collectors. The knights had again abstained from attending the Diet and asserted also that they were not subjects of the Duke but only of the Emperor. Later this had the consequence that the Wurttemberg Diet was mainly

composed of delegates of the *Landschaft*. The latter consisted of rural districts with a town as centre. The ruling element was the 'Honourables', the wealthy burghers and farmers who dominated the town and village councils. In this way a Diet developed in which the nobles were not represented but only the middle class and the Church.

Duke Ulrich, a violent character, committed various acts which led to his proscription by the Emperor. The Swabian Federation defeated him, he had to flee abroad and his country came under Austrian rule. After fourteen years, however, the Duke, with the help of other princes, and of France, reconquered his land, though he had to recognise Austria's overlordship. He now made Lutheranism the dominant religion and effected many useful reforms in administration, education and social matters. The common people were on the side of the Reformation and welcomed the return of the Duke, while the wealthier classes were rather averse to both. The Estates were, therefore, not consulted about the reform of the Church.

Duke Christoph (1550-68) was a wise ruler inspired by genuine Christianity and devoting all his energy to the good of his people. He worked for peace and reconciliation everywhere and acquired thereby the greatest respect in the whole of Europe. Unlike his father he regarded State and Church as institutions of equal right. The new Church became a centralised body under a Church Council appointed by the government, but in reality very independent. It was endowed with the great wealth of the old Church. A new constitution of the Church was confirmed by the Estates. Christoph's whole heart was in education and his reforms were characterised by Christian humanism. Learned studies were carefully organised and the theologians educated at the University of Tuebingen soon surpassed all others in scholarship. Every town was to have a grammar school and every parish an elementary one. Christoph was the first German ruler who wished that also the common man should be well educated, and his school law of 1559 became a model for many other territories. The Duke was an indefatigable worker; in the eighteen years of his reign he issued a civil code and thirty-one laws regulating every aspect of life in a paternal spirit. The Diet had great influence, and in order to supervise current affairs nominated two standing committees. When the Duke, however, offered the Estates jointly to elaborate a yearly budget for his court and administration, they answered they were not expert enough and he should do it himself. They further refused to vote money for mercenary troops

and wanted that the country should be defended only by levies from the people. The Duke, too, was strongly opposed to war and in his will prohibited his sons ever to begin one or to give cause for it.

His successor Lewis (1568-93) was very pious and versed in theology and regarded the maintenance and expansion of the pure faith as his main aim. The plan of the theologians to bring about a union of the Eastern Church with the Lutheran had his warmest support. At the same time, however, he was also lively interested in the fine arts and learning and built a beautiful Renaissance palace. His friendliness towards everybody made him very popular. Though he was always busy he left the government almost entirely to his councillors saying that it was better to submit to the advice of wise men than to insist on one's own will.

He was followed by Duke Frederick I (1593-1602), who on wide journeys had acquired a preference for foreign ideas, especially French absolutism, which at home aroused misgivings. He achieved, however, by a treaty the liberation of his country from Austrian overlordship. At that time the plan of a Protestant union against Catholic aggression was much ventilated. Frederick stood for a cautious policy but realised the necessity to create a military force for the case that the country should be attacked. The pact of Tuebingen, however, was a great obstacle and the Estates were absolutely against a trained professional army. In their view it was enough to arm the peasants when the necessity arose. But the Duke was convinced that such a militia would have no military value. This conflict led to a struggle with the Diet in which the Duke was guided by his counsellor Matthaeus Enzlin, a prominent jurist. They operated with such ruthlessness and tactical skill that the majority of the Estates, intimidated and outwitted, were brought to vote for a revision of the constitution, which made the Duke almost independent of them. Frederick was a forerunner of enlightened absolutism, who, unlike his predecessor, wanted to rule himself. He did much to purge the administration of abuses and to foster the country's economic development, mainly by the application of mercantilist principles. The underlying idea of this policy was that the government knew best what was in the subjects' interest. Nobody, for example, was to borrow more than one hundred florins without the permission of the government. As the Duke needed much money he employed alchemists who promised to produce gold, but when he discovered that he had been cheated, he had

several of them hanged, though his counsellors had doubts whether this was not against the law.

His son John Frederick (1608-28) was a mild, benevolent, and religious ruler, well educated and widely travelled. He restored the former constitution which his father had altered. Privy Counsellor Enzlin, who had inspired this alteration, was impeached and sentenced to imprisonment for life, but later new proceedings were opened which led to his decapitation. The power of the Estates was strengthened and they founded a 'Secret Chest', funds designed to keep means ready for the defence of the constitution if threatened by the government.

In the last years before the Thirty Years War and after its outbreak the growing danger of becoming involved forced the government to care for better defence. But the Estates continued to refuse the employment of professional soldiers and relied on peasants, who were to get a small allowance to equip themselves with arms. With the progress of the war the country was ever more drawn into its vortex and was exposed to unending devastation, famine and plague. The peasants armed with pikes were no match for the soldiers of the great military powers and most of them perished. In the course of the war the population decreased by almost two thirds, partly by mass flight to countries not affected by the war. It took over a hundred years to restore the former population. During the greater part of the war the country was ruled by Eberhard III, (1628-74), a well-meaning prince, much liked by the people, though an unimportant personality. But Wurttemberg possessed excellent civil servants and churchmen, who in many respects enjoyed great independence of the government. In 1629 the Privy Council charged with the conduct of government was made responsible both to the Duke and the Estates. It had also to care for the maintenance of the constitution. The Estates in 1638 entrusted the Secret Chest to a small committee, free from the control of the Diet. This led to great abuses and corruption.

In Bavaria the Estates had at the beginning of the sixteenth century attained such power that for some time they were the real rulers. They had then an able leader in the knight Dietrich of Plieningen, who had had a humanist education. But the monarchical power, too, possessed a very efficient and ruthless defender in Leonhard von Eck, a man of the old nobility trained in Roman law. The Diet forced the Duke to dismiss him, but he soon was re-instated and gradually became the power behind the Duke. He initiated successfully a policy of undermining the

power of the Estates and prepared their final downfall.

The Reformation quickly gained ground in large sections of the Bavarian people. The ruling Dukes were at first not disposed to combat the new teachings, but Eck convinced Duke William IV and his brother Lewis, the co-regent, that Lutheranism contained the seeds of a political and social revolution. Moreover, the Dukes and their successors came to the conclusion that they might obtain from the Emperor and Pope very great advantages for their dynasty and their country if they took up arms against the spread of Protestantism in Bavaria. This does not mean that religious motives were lacking among the motives of the Dukes. In any case, after the Edict of Worms, and particularly after the Peasant War, the Bavarian government took energetic measures against Lutheranism, and in the thirties of the sixteenth century the danger to the old Church seemed to have been overcome. The Anabaptists were persecuted with great cruelty.

Charles V's victories aroused also in Bavaria the apprehension that the Habsburgs were becoming dangerous. Bavarian policy, therefore, on the one hand continued to fight Protestantism at the side of the Habsburgs, on the other it opposed the increase of Habsburg power at the side of Protestant princes and every enemy of the Emperor, especially France, and even set hopes on the Turks. Moreover, the old Wittelsbach ambition to gain the German and the Bohemian crowns became active again and intensified the jealousy of the Habsburgs. This tension did not, however, prevent marriages and temporary improvements in the relations between the two dynasties.

Albrecht V (1528-79) was a highly cultured prince of the Renaissance type, who wanted to make Munich a second Florence. He was a great collector of books, antiquities and objects of art and a munificent patron of scholars, architects, painters and musicians. In religion he was at first for a compromise between the two warring creeds and tried to induce the Pope to make concessions satisfying the Protestants without destroying the old faith. He joined the Heidelberg League, to which Estates of both religions belonged, and endorsed its resolution that subjects should not be persecuted for their faith. This attitude led to a new rise of Protestantism and, in conjunction with it, a strong section of the Bavarian nobles under the lead of Count Joachim of Ortenburg demanded full freedom for the adherents of the Augsburg confession and tried to revive the power of the Estates. The suspicion gained ground that the Protestant nobles were planning an armed rising, and though an investigation failed

to furnish sufficient proof of a conspiracy, the secret correspondence of the nobles, which fell into the hands of the government, seemed to justify in the eyes of the Duke his fear of an impending revolt. The Duke henceforth identified Protestantism with revolution and adopted an energetic policy against it. In this he was encouraged by the Jesuits, who under him began to make Bavaria the protagonist of the Counter-Reformation. The Pope rewarded the zeal of the Duke by permitting that a number of rich bishoprics were bestowed upon his son Ernest, though he was a minor, and was averse to the life of a priest. Under Albrecht the territory of Bavaria was consolidated by the acquisition of many enclaves, and the central organs of administration were greatly reformed. Bavaria possessed already in the second half of the sixteenth century highly qualified professional officials, pledged by oath not only to the Duke but also to the country, who often showed great independence and courage towards the ruler. Albrecht largely left the administration to these officials.

William V (1579-98) had inherited from his father the love of the fine arts and of music and he created beautiful Renaissance buildings and art collections. At the same time, however, he was, unlike his father, the paragon of a pious Catholic according to the standards of the Jesuits, and more and more devoted a great part of his time to religious exercises and to an ascetic life. His policy was guided by the aims of the Counter-Reformation, but he also acquired from the Pope a great extension of State control over the Bavarian Church. Under him the persecution of witches reached its peak. In 1589 one trial alone resulted in the conviction of sixty-three women from Schongau. They were decapitated and their corpses burnt. The Duke was an industrious worker in State affairs, but his finance led him almost to bankruptcy, mainly through excessive spending for Church purposes. The Estates and his counsellors made serious representations, the Duke abdicated in favour of his son Maximilian and devoted the last twenty nine years of his life to prayers, religious meditation, charity and his art collections.

Maximilian I (1595-1651) was Bavaria's greatest ruler and in his long reign very effectively shaped her institutions and future traditions. He studied four years at the University of Ingolstadt under Jesuit tutors. Besides German he spoke fluently Latin, French and Italian, and in later years he learned Spanish. His high intelligence was coupled with great energy, self-discipline and devotion to his duties. He was his own Prime-Minister and used to work from early morning until late in the night, in-

errupted by prayers, church, a short meal and, sometimes, the chase, which, however, was not indulged at the expense of public affairs. Maximilian carried out reforms in every field. The institutions and the spirit of the civil service were further developed and improved. The expenses of the court were cut down, and a rigorous financial control and accountancy introduced. The revenues were increased by furthering the productivity of the country, and a treasure was accumulated. A comprehensive codification of the law was published and great care given to better justice and internal security. A Poor Law tried to suppress begging and cared for the poor unable to work and for the training or employment of their children. Detailed precautions were taken against epidemics. A militia was organised and the peasants had to do military exercises on Sundays, but this was not a success. Economic policy was based on the principles of mercantilism. A sort of Ministry of Trade was established and another for the mines. New industries were encouraged, foreign workers engaged and trade strictly supervised. Maximilian thought also of abolishing the guilds and freeing handicrafts from their control. Wages and prices were fixed. The peasants were protected against oppression and unlawful exactions. Excessive *corvées* were prohibited, hunting lords damaging the fields had to pay compensation, and in grave cases their right to the chase was stopped. The gamekeepers of the Duke were forbidden to beat peasants. A lord who consistently oppressed his serfs was punished by imprisonment and loss of his dignities, he was deprived of his local jurisdiction and eventually expelled. A great deal was done for the improvement of agricultural methods and a sound management of the forests. But Maximilian also furthered cultural interests, he enlarged the libraries, showed great understanding for scholarly studies, especially on the history of Bavaria, and for the fine arts. In regard to religion this ardent disciple of the Jesuits still further increased the measures against Protestantism, particularly the censorship and supervision of schools, booksellers, etc. The last Protestants were expelled. Any contact with Protestant countries was forbidden or strictly checked in order to avoid infection. Church-going was compulsory, officials had to attend church every day, and every subject had at Easter-tide to go to confession. The Jesuits were in high favour, the Duke chose his confessors from their ranks and often asked them for advice. Several new Jesuit colleges were founded. But State supervision of the Church did not relax. Maximilian, too, firmly believed in witches and demons

and the women persecuted as witches reached a terrible figure. But after 1631 the persecution subsided, probably owing to the growth of opposition, though it could not yet be vented in public.

The influence of the Estates was waning. In 1577 already they themselves begged Duke Albrecht not to summon them. Many of the knights were poor and regarded attending the Diet an onerous burden. Maximilian convoked the Estates twice only and did not afford them much opportunity of discussing his policy. They elected a standing committee which they empowered to vote and to collect taxes and which later renewed itself by co-optation. This step led to the complete eclipse of the Estates, though this was probably not intended. It must also be considered that Maximilian's reign largely co-incided with the Thirty Years war, which was a very unfavourable time for assembling the Estates. Their decline was paralleled by the reduction of municipal and local autonomy.

The Rhine (or Lower) Palatinate was situated on both sides of the Rhine, with Heidelberg as capital, and was ruled by a line of the Wittelsbach, which possessed also the Upper Palatinate between Bavaria and Bohemia. The little country on the Rhine was very fertile and its position gave it a great strategical and political importance. As the dynasty was very rich, it had no need of Estates, though notables were sometimes assembled. Under Count Palatine Otto Henry Lutheranism was introduced, and with Frederick III Calvinism began to win influence. Most of the princes had a good record as rulers and, in particular, did much for schools, culture, and art. In politics they often were in opposition to the Habsburgs and leaned towards France. With Frederick III and his son Casimir they entered on the scene of international politics as champions of Calvinism. Frederick V accepted the crown of Bohemia and thereby kindled the fire which was to become the Thirty Years War. In this war his country was devastated again and again, the people had to bear unspeakable horrors and the majority was exterminated or had to flee.

Hesse was at Luther's time ruled by the Landgrave Philipp, sur-named the Great-Hearted (1509-67), whose role as champion of the Reformation has already been related. He was highly intelligent and energetic, impetuous and warlike, but also devoted to the interests of the people. Under him the country enjoyed impartial justice, a good administration and many reforms. In religion the Landgrave was very tolerant, though the orthodox pastors often frustrated his liberal intentions. He founded hos-

pitals and poorhouses, gave the Church great autonomy and created at Marburg the first Protestant university. In spite of his excessive hunting, which did much damage, he was popular. The common man liked him. When he died he divided the country between four sons but wished that thereby its unity should not be destroyed. His sons made agreements among themselves complying with this wish. The Estates from all parts formed one assembly, the High Court and the university were common, and so on. Later two of the lines died out and only two parts remained, called Hesse-Cassel and Hesse-Darmstadt.

Philip's eldest son was William IV of Hesse-Cassel, called the Wise (1567-92). He was a peaceable, mild ruler imbued with great zeal for his people's welfare. Though an ardent Protestant he was broadminded and used his great international reputation to promote toleration also in other countries. Life at his court was simple and economical. Besides his duties as a ruler the Prince devoted himself to scientific research. He was an excellent astronomer and mathematician, and made many valuable observations and calculations. He further created a botanical garden, where he cultivated plants from all parts of the world. In Hesse-Darmstadt his brother George I ruled, and he also was very conscientious and devoted great care to the public interest.

William's only son and successor was Maurice of Hesse-Cassel (1592-1627). This prince was deeply religious, full of zeal for the common weal and imbued with the greatest interest in learning, education and the arts. He knew Latin, Greek, Hebrew, German, French, English, Spanish, Italian and Hungarian. Besides, he was versed in the natural sciences, founded scientific collections, was an excellent musician and composer and wrote Latin poems and dramas. In order to raise the intellectual level of the nobility he founded an academy for their sons and a temperance society was formed. Under Maurice the Court of Cassel was marked by great splendour and refined entertainment. Italian musicians formed the orchestra, English comedians playing in German were employed, and for scientific purposes Dutch scholars were engaged. Holland, then in revolt against Spain, deeply impressed the Landgrave. He also did much to improve economic conditions.

In religion Maurice detested the narrow-mindedness of Lutheran orthodoxy and leaned to Calvinism. In 1605 he introduced changes in the form of the Lord's Supper and banned crucifixes and pictures from the churches, an act which aroused many protests and active resistance in the people. Many pastors and theologians

resigned their posts rather than submit and congregations absented themselves. A General Synod packed by the Prince at last sanctioned the innovations. Hesse-Darmstadt, on the other hand, clung to orthodox Lutheranism and founded the University of Giessen, where it was cultivated. Bitter altercations arose between the theologians, and ninety-nine polemical tracts appeared.

The convictions and the fiery temperament of Landgrave Maurice made him a leader of the Calvinists in Germany, and he challenged the House of Habsburg. This greatly aggravated the tensions which led to the Thirty Years War. Maurice also wanted to create a national militia to defend his country and worked out plans in every detail. But the knights offered strong resistance and frustrated the scheme. When war came they wanted to remain neutral. Hesse was repeatedly occupied by foreign troops and was terribly ransacked and devastated. Maurice at last, advised by his Chancellor Dr. Wolfgang Guenther, tried to organise a militia independently of the Estates. This only led to new struggles, the Prince was in 1627 forced to abdicate and Dr. Guenther was impeached by the Estates and executed—a Hessian Strafford. Maurice's successor William V, a mild and noble character, continued his policy and was put under the ban by the Emperor. His widow Amalia Elisabeth became regent and proved a very efficient diplomat and ruler. Hesse-Darmstadt was during the war ruled by George II, who was one of the best princes of his time.

The House of Welf had lost most of the territories which its ancestor Henry the Lion had once ruled, but the extent of its possessions was still considerable. Yet they went through countless partitions between heirs, re-unions of parts by inheritance and other re-shapings of territories, which make it impossible to survey their history briefly. At last a treaty of 1635 created four States, of which the two major ones were the Duchy of Lueneburg, later called Hanover, and the smaller Duchy of Wolfenbuettel, later called Brunswick. In the time of the Reformation Henry the Younger was the last Catholic prince in Northern Germany and a warlike ruler. His son, Duke Julius, (1568-89) was peaceable, loyal to the Emperor, highly educated, an indefatigable worker for his people's welfare and very popular. He made the country Protestant, did much for the schools, and founded the University of Helmstedt. The peasants were protected against oppression by their lords and obtained good leases. To defend the country an attempt was made to form a militia, every householder was to possess arms and the peasants

were instructed in their use. The Duke devoted particular care to the economic development of his country, which became rich, and since he himself led a simple life and was economical in his affairs, he left a treasure of eight tons of gold. Henry Julius, his son (1589-1613), in contrast to his father loved splendour and stressed his princely authority. He got into great debts and had many frictions with the Estates, who appealed against him to the Kammergericht, the High Court of the Empire. At last the rights of the Estates were recognised by the Prince and Chancellor Dr. Jagemann, who was responsible for the constitutional struggle, was dismissed. The town of Brunswick claimed a republican independence and denied homage to the Duke. This led to great struggles, which had already begun under his father and continued under his successor but were at last settled by a compromise. The Duke further devoted much time to the politics of the Empire and worked for the maintenance of internal peace. He was very learned and as a boy of twelve already had aroused admiration by addressing the University in a Latin speech which lasted two hours. Nevertheless he shared many superstitions of the time, such as the belief in witches. He kept a troupe of English comedians, wrote himself eleven plays in the English style and had a famous court orchestra. His successor Frederick Ulric was well-meaning and knowledgeable but had a weak and vacillating character, loved pleasure and splendour and devoted more time to hunting than to his duties as ruler. The real regent was the chancellor Anton von Streithorst whose misgovernment aroused the Estates. They forced the Duke to comply with their demands and the chancellor was dismissed and imprisoned. The Duke, however, showed also interest in learning and wrote a Latin tract on the rivalry between the knights and the men of letters. In the course of the Thirty Years War the country was afflicted by indescribable sufferings. In 1635 Duke Augustus came to the throne, an excellent Prince who devoted unceasing care to healing the wounds inflicted by the war. He also immediately after his accession confirmed all the rights of the Estates. Augustus was a real scholar, he wrote many learned books and created in Wolfenbuettel a library which became one of the most famous in Europe. All the Dukes since Henry the Younger had tried to provide the country with adequate means of defence, to create a just system of taxation comprising all classes, to improve justice and to further the interests of the peasantry against their lords. But most of these efforts foundered on the egoistic opposition of the nobles in the Estates.

The rise of the territorial States encouraged the development of a literature on financial and economic questions. The new tasks of government required a great apparatus of officials and soldiers, which caused great expenses. Everything depended on the question how to get the money needed. The returns of the domains of the princes were often insufficient, and the Estates mostly showed themselves very reluctant to vote new taxes. A third resource were the so-called regalities, which comprised numerous different kinds of revenues not subject to the assent of the Diets, such as fees for licences granted by the government, duties, sale of titles and posts, the return of State monopolies, and so on. They had first developed in Italy, France, Spain and England and later found entrance also in German territories.

A school of writers arose, known as Regalists or Cameralists. It was the time when the need of money compelled ever more rulers to re-organise their finance office, the chamber or camera, under a college of experts. The Cameralists wanted to show the princes ways to increase their revenues and develop the resources of their country. They then proceeded also to the discussion of many other questions connected with the former ones, such as currency, administration, public law, technology, economic theory, and statistics. Their writings reflected the principles underlying the new policies and they helped in training an efficient staff of officials. This movement commenced in the second half of the sixteenth century and reached its peak in the eighteenth century. Many of these writers showed a strong leaning to State socialism. Parallels could be found in many other countries. Queen Elizabeth believed that every trade might be made a State monopoly. She often gave one to a favourite, who then sold it to a financier. The German Cameralists studied the economic and financial conditions of the advanced foreign countries, and sought to make use of their experience for the specific problems of Germany. They often stressed that the interest of the country was above that of the prince, though many princes disregarded this maxim. Yet, it was probably due to the Cameralists that certain fiscal abuses never reached the same size in Germany than in some foreign countries. In France, for example, the sale of State offices and the farming out of taxes gradually assumed enormous dimensions creating conditions which contributed to the coming of the French revolution.

Bibliography

Cf. the histories of the principal German States quoted in the bibliographical notes at the beginning of Part I.

THE THIRTY YEARS WAR

IN Bohemia the accession of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria an intransigent Catholic, was secured in 1617. The predominantly Protestant Estates at first hesitated, but after some explanation by the government of the legal position they almost unanimously accepted Ferdinand as King Designate. He was crowned and supported the old Emperor Matthew in his work. Ferdinand also confirmed the 'Letter of Majesty', the charter of religious liberty, after a number of Jesuits consulted had unanimously reassured him that he might do so. He was without doubt ready to observe the charter, provided the Protestants, too, would keep it; for according to the views of the time an act of this kind had the character of a treaty with the Estates. But he was not prepared to grant additional concessions and indeed, on the contrary, intended to further the Catholic cause and whittle down the Protestant position wherever the strict letter of the law was not a hindrance. The law was often ambiguously drafted, leaving the way open for various interpretations. This led to frequent complaints of the Estates. Ferdinand was elected and crowned king in Hungary also. Here the right of the Estates to elect the king was expressly recognised, while in Bohemia the prevalent view was that the crown was hereditary, but that the Estates were entitled to 'accept' a king; this seemed to imply a right of rejecting him, too, and of choosing another member of his family.

A great conflict broke out in Bohemia when in two small towns the Protestants built churches on land belonging to the Catholic Church against the will of the landlords. The Protestants defended this with the argument that ecclesiastical land was to

be considered royal property, on which—according to the Letter of Majesty—they had the right to build churches. The government rejected this argument, and the matter aroused such an uproar that the leaders of the radical wing of the Estates, in particular Count Matthew Thurn, Baron Colonna Fels and Wenceslaus of Ruppá, found the moment propitious to start a revolution (1618). To this end they plotted to murder some of the imperial regents, in particular Count Jaroslav Martinitz and Count William Slavata. At a meeting in the imperial castle in Prague, organised by the conspirators, the two obnoxious regents, according to an old Czech custom, were thrown out of the window and a volley of shots sent after them. Against all expectations, however, they remained alive and escaped. Further, a revolutionary government was formed, of which Ruppá became president, and troops were organised which Fels and Thurn were to command. Public opinion on the whole approved of the revolt, though some towns remained loyal to the Emperor. At first, however, the leaders found it advisable to contend that the revolt was directed only against the bad counsellors of the Emperor.

The Bohemian revolt was not primarily one of the Czechs against German rule, though Czech nationalism had great influence on the Estates. The main instigators of the plot, Thurn and Fels, were Germans, and many German nobles and towns joined the insurrection. Thurn, its principal originator, spoke only broken Czech and was described by an opponent as 'the damned German whom the devil had brought to Bohemia'. On the other hand, many of the foremost defenders of the Catholic and Imperial cause were Czechs, especially Chancellor Zdenek Lobkowitz, one of the most influential advisers of Ferdinand, and both Slavata and Martinitz. It is also significant that the German Estates of Silesia joined the Bohemian revolution, while the Czech Estates of Moravia disapproved of it and advocated reconciliation. In this the Moravians followed the advice of Charles of Zierotin, a Czech magnate and member of the Brethren Community, who was the universally respected leader of the Protestants, surpassing all the others in wisdom and nobility of mind. He was convinced that Thurn and Ruppá had acted only in their personal interest.

Long before the Bohemian revolution Christian of Anhalt, the leading Palatine statesman and his party had made far-flung plans to overthrow the Habsburgs. He had made contact with all their enemies and also thought of acquiring the Bohemian crown for the Elector Frederick V of the Palatinate. This prince

had in 1613 married Elizabeth, daughter of King James I. Now the moment seemed propitious to carry out these plans. Negotiations with the Bohemian rebels were started, who were promised help. The Duke of Savoy sent them troops, and discussions took place how to win allies. But King James was entirely opposed to warlike adventures and warned his son-in-law against them.

At the imperial court opinions were divided as to how the situation should be handled. Emperor Matthew and his Chancellor Cardinal Klesl were for appeasing the rebels by means of concessions. Ferdinand and his entourage, the Spanish and papal influence, however, demanded a forceful policy and welcomed the rebellion as an opportunity to overthrow an enemy before it was too late. They also accused Klesl of neglecting armaments, while the rebels were making great military preparations. Their opposition went so far that they had the Cardinal abducted and kept for years as a prisoner in a castle in the Tyrol. When the old Emperor was informed of the abduction of his most intimate adviser and friend, he was beside himself with indignation; but later he submitted. His energy was declining and he was near the end of his life.

Ferdinand, however, soon found the task of putting down the rebels much more difficult than he had expected. His military forces were very small and he was faced with the danger that the rebellion might also spread to Austria and Hungary, where the Protestant Estates showed a threatening mood. In the autumn the Emperor sent Zierotin to Prague where, in the name of the Moravian Estates, he proposed the restoration of peace by arbitration and outlined a reasonable compromise. The Bohemians, after some wavering, rejected this offer. They had some military successes, but soon the forces on both sides were exhausted and the war came to a standstill. Emperor Matthew, in agreement with Ferdinand, now made new determined attempts to bring about an equitable peace and proposed that two Catholic and two Protestant princes should act as mediators and work out terms. Of the Protestants suggested by him the Elector Frederick V was one. But these attempts also failed; the Bohemian regents, and Ruppa in particular, were entirely hostile, and the Estates made conditions that were quite unacceptable. The Diet had resolved that the estates of all noblemen who were against the insurrection should be confiscated, and one of their conditions of peace was that the Emperor should confirm this. The Emperor was, therefore, expected to victimise those who had remained loyal to him. The confiscation of the property of political

opponents by the Bohemian Estates was to become the precedent for the confiscation of property of the rebels, decreed as a punishment after the defeat of the rebellion.

In the midst of these negotiations Emperor Matthew died (1619). His successor Ferdinand made attempts to continue the negotiations. He renewed his guarantee of religious liberty, then proposed that the Bohemians should send envoys to Vienna for further discussions; and lastly repeated the offer of arbitration by neutral princes, one Catholic and one Protestant. But all these efforts were in vain. The Bohemians planned to spread the rebellion to all the territories under Habsburg rule. They invaded Moravia and overthrew the regime which had remained loyal to the Emperor. The great majority hastened to join the Bohemians, yet Zierotin refused to do so, and withdrew from political life. He remained convinced that the insurrection was bound to lead to disaster for his religion, his people, and for liberty, to which he had devoted long years of work and struggle. The Bohemian troops then invaded Austria and appeared before Vienna. The Protestant nobility in the various Austrian territories promised them help and made great preparations. Yet their moderate section hesitated to join the Radicals and the Bohemians, and events proved them right. The Bohemian troops had soon to withdraw. Though they outnumbered the Imperial forces they were badly disciplined. The rich Bohemian aristocrats were unwilling to make sufficient financial sacrifices for their cause, and the soldiers were not regularly paid, and often mutinied. Further, the Imperial troops were led by experienced officers, mostly Walloons, not by dilettantes like the Bohemians. On the other hand Duke Gabriel Bethlen of Transsylvania, a remarkable prince of tolerant views, coveted the realms of the Habsburgs, won the support of the Hungarian Calvinist nobles and was backed by Turkey. He began war against Ferdinand and promised help to the Bohemians. In 1620 he was elected and crowned King of Hungary.

Meantime, in 1619, the German electors had assembled in Frankfort to elect an emperor, and the Bohemian Estates in Prague to choose a king. In Prague all the countries under the Bohemian crown held a common diet which settled important constitutional questions. The Bohemian Commonwealth was to be a confederation in which each country was to retain its political, financial and military self-determination. It was to have a distinctly Protestant character. Kingship was not to be hereditary but elective and subject to the control of defenders

entitled to call up the countries to armed resistance if the King should infringe one of their liberties. It would in practice have been an aristocratic republic on the model of Poland. An everlasting pact was further concluded with the Protestant Estates of Austria, and every five years common sessions were to settle affairs of common interest. Lastly, the Estates declared that Ferdinand had forfeited the crown, and elected Count Palatine Frederick their King. After some further hesitation, caused by King James I's unrelenting disapproval, Frederick was induced to accept the crown. English public opinion, however, hailed him.

In Frankfort Ferdinand was unanimously elected Emperor, two days after the Count Palatine had been elected King in Prague. Ferdinand would have liked to meet him in order to dissuade him from accepting the crown, but as this failed he made a last attempt in the same sense by sending Count Fuerstenberg to him. This move also failed. Frederick and Elizabeth made their triumphant entry into Prague, and the coronation was celebrated with great splendour. Soon, however, the outlook began to darken: the negotiations to conclude alliances had mostly failed. The Union of German Protestant princes was only willing to defend the Palatinate if it should be attacked by the Spaniards, but it was not willing to send troops to Bohemia. James I persisted in his refusal of help, though his ministers and public opinion were anxious to come to the rescue of the Protestants. The Dutch granted Frederick a monthly subsidy. But the young King was also faced with a serious situation in his new realm. His counsellor Camerarius had investigated the Bohemian finances and administration, and had found an absolutely hopeless confusion. He came to the conclusion that the Pope Paul V had obviously been right saying that Frederick had placed himself in a labyrinth of corruption. No improvement, moreover, was to be expected since the King was neither permitted to make any change in the distribution of posts nor to employ any aliens.

Bohemian public opinion, furthermore, soon began to criticise the new regime. Immediately the revolution had begun, the revolutionary government had asked the Turks for help, and a Turkish envoy was received by the new King in public audience. The Calvinist preachers declared that the Turks were very near to the Christians, confirming thereby an old argument of the Lutherans, who contended that between Calvinists and Mahomedans there was no great difference. An embassy was sent to the Sultan, which arrived, however, after the catastrophe of the Bohemians. These proceedings naturally made a very unfavour-

able impression on the people, which was aggravated by the fanaticism of many Calvinists in Frederick's entourage, especially his Court Preacher Schultze, called Scultetus. The Bohemian Protestants were split into various sections, and the Lutherans were numerous. The Court Preacher ordered that the Cathedral of Prague be cleaned of all the signs of popish idolatry. The crucifixes, images and statues of saints etc., among them masterpieces of great artists, were carried away and used as firewood. When the Bohemians protested the Calvinist zealot answered: 'You Lutherans are stinking of popery,' It was rumoured that the Queen had suggested tearing the bones of St. Wenceslaus, the national saint of the Czechs, from his tomb. She, no doubt, wanted to have the great crucifix on the Charles bridge destroyed, and it was alleged that she spoke of Christ on the cross as 'a naked bather'. The destruction was prevented by the burghers appearing in arms. The situation was so tense that Count Schlick, one of the principal leaders of the revolutionary nobles, entreated the King to revoke his orders else he would lose his crown. Furthermore the people took exception to the luxurious life at the court of the King, and found the costumes of their new Queen indecent.

The Emperor had in the meantime been much more successful in obtaining the support of allies, particularly that of the Pope, Maximilian of Bavaria and the Catholic League, Spain, Poland, Tuscany, and Saxony. The Bohemian army, under Christian of Anhalt's command, was in a fortified position on the White Hill near Prague, when the army of the allies appeared, commanded by General Baron Tilly, a Walloon. The two armies were of about equal strength. But the battle lasted hardly an hour, and ended in the rout of the Bohemians (1621). During the battle King Frederick had been at lunch in Prague, and when he then rode to the battle-field he came just in time to see his troops in wild flight. The people of Prague were entirely against defending the city, and would have delivered the King to his enemies had he not also taken to flight. In so short a time he had lost all popularity. He spent most of his life afterwards as an exile in the Netherlands.

Among the booty, the secret correspondence of Christian of Anhalt fell into the hands of Maximilian of Bavaria, and was published by him. It showed that the leader of the Calvinist party had discussed plans with other powers which certainly amounted to high treason. Some time later secret letters of the Emperor to Spain were intercepted by the enemy, and also made

public. Hundreds of pamphlets, lampoons and broadsheets appeared on these revelations. In the Thirty Years War every important event was followed by a flood of publications issued by all the parties involved. They give a most informative picture of the currents of public opinion.

Before the battle of the White Hill the Palatinate had been occupied by a Spanish army. The troops of the Union, reinforced by English and Dutch ones, did not intervene. In the Bohemian countries and in Hungary the authority of the Emperor was restored; Prince Bethlen after some fighting renounced the kingship, and delivered the Hungarian crown to Ferdinand, though he later took up arms against him again. The cause of Palsgrave Frederick was now defended merely by the condottiere Count Mansfeld and a few other small princes, who fought largely in their own interests—or from love of war.

The Bohemian rebels were punished with terrible severity. Twenty-seven of them were executed, many others were sentenced to heavy penalties, and several hundreds lost the whole or parts of their property. A great number had fled abroad. The charter of religious liberty was torn up by the Emperor. His own zealotry was intensified by the exhortations of the papal Legate Caraffa and his Confessor, the Jesuit Lamormaini. The confiscated land was estimated at almost a third of the total area of the country. It was sold in order to prop the tottering State finances, but the greater part of its value flowed into private pockets. Many noblemen used their influence on the Emperor for their own profit, and acquired vast domains for a very cheap price. Albrecht Waldstein, later known as Wallenstein, accumulated an enormous fortune; but also the Church in particular the Jesuits, received large donations. Many of the leading families were uprooted, and replaced by others loyal to the Emperor. This policy, however, was not inspired by nationalism like that of Cromwell who wanted in Ulster to replace the Irish by English and Scot colonists. Those who profited from these transactions were to a great extent Czech loyalists; and another large proportion were imperial generals or officers of various nationalities, particularly Walloons, Spaniards and Italians.

Emperor Ferdinand now had a free hand to realise his ideal of making all his subjects Catholic again. This programme was carried out step by step over a number of years, as there were not sufficient Catholic priests available for a quick completion. In the Bohemian countries the same measures were taken as prev-

iously in Inner Austria: first the expulsion of Protestant preachers and teachers, then the order to the burghers and peasants either to become Catholic or to sell their land, and to emigrate with their money. In 1627 this was extended to Bohemian and Moravian noblemen. Altogether at least thirty thousand families emigrated, of which one hundred and eighty-five belonged to the nobility. Recalcitrants were forced by quartering platoons of soldiers in their houses, and by other vexations. In Austria the noblemen who had remained loyal were at first spared, but they too were later faced with the alternative of conversion or emigration. In Upper Austria a great peasant revolt broke out, which was suppressed with abominable cruelty. In Hungary alone forcible means could not be employed; but a great section of the nobles were converted by the persuasion and the mild personality of Archbishop Pazmann, a former Calvinist, who enjoyed great esteem with the Protestants too. The Jesuits received full control of the Universities and education; they exercised the censorship, and great numbers of Protestant books were collected and burnt. In Silesia Lutheranism was tolerated because regard had to be paid to the wishes of the Elector of Saxony, who had supported the Emperor.

Further, the Counter-Reformation was everywhere accompanied by decrees strengthening the power of the Emperor. In 1627 Bohemia was declared an hereditary monarchy in which the King had the prerogative to enact laws and appoint officials, though the Estates retained the right to decide matters of taxation.

The extermination of Protestantism, the suppression of religious freedom, and of the rights of the Estates, and the introduction of monarchical absolutism have been deplored by numerous historians. It certainly was a tragedy arousing sympathy with the victims and abhorrence of the violence employed. Persons who preferred exile to acting against their conscience were certainly men of high character. Besides, the Protestants in general, comprised numerous men of special knowledge and training, such as scholars, educators, artists, writers, merchants, industrialists, officers and so on. Their emigration was therefore a great loss for the Austrian and Bohemian countries. Many of the refugees, in their new countries of residence, wrote books and pamphlets against the Habsburgs, and aroused public opinion against them. They contributed much to deepening the rift between Protestant Northern Germany and Catholic Austria. But it is an illusion to believe that the liberty for which the Bohemian, Austrian and Hungarian nobles were fighting would have led to

a stable regime of order and freedom. The historian of the Puritan Revolution, Samuel Gardiner, judged that but for the Bohemian Revolution Ferdinand's reign might have led to an era of peace. The dissolution of the dynastic ties between Austria, Bohemia and Hungary, however, was bound to lead to a renewal of Turkish aggression threatening the whole of Europe. Even if a catastrophe would have been averted the Danubian countries would have experienced the miseries of a Polish anarchy, until in the fullness of time Russia would have gathered the harvest. This argument of one of the greatest of English historians is indeed of decisive weight. Sixty-nine years after the battle of the White Hill a great Turkish army besieged Vienna, and it was defeated only by the combined exertions of the Habsburgs, the Pope, the Empire, and Poland. A number of small aristocratic republics would never have been able to stand up to the Ottoman power, nor would they have fulfilled the function of the Austrian Empire: to form in the European Balance of Power a counter-weight to aggressors like the France of Louis XIV, the Revolution and Napoleon, Frederick 'the Great', and the imperialism of Russia. A sound parliamentarism and modern freedom could hardly have developed. In England this was possible behind the impregnable bulwark of the sea, and also because a strong central power had laid firm foundations of national unity, and had suppressed an excessive antagonism between the territories, classes and religions.

If Emperor Ferdinand had treated the prostrate Bohemian rebels in a conciliatory spirit, making allowance for Protestant opinion in the Empire and abroad, the war might have come to an early end. The German Protestants were not in a truculent mood, and the Free Towns seceded from the Union, which soon afterwards dissolved. Unfortunately Ferdinand was no far-sighted statesman, and was completely under the sway of zealots in his entourage.

But his defeated rival, Frederick of the Palatinate, showed himself equally unreasonable, and, moreover, Ferdinand had had to make promises to his saviour, Maximilian of Bavaria, which had to be honoured, but which aroused great opposition among the princes. It was certainly unfair that a State like Bavaria was not represented in the Electoral College, while the much smaller Palatinate was. But the transfer of the electoral dignity from Frederick to Maximilian would have given the Catholic party an undue preponderance in the College. The Protestant princes would have been able to secure a lenient treatment of Frederick V

if he himself had not made this impossible. He refused to admit that he had done wrong, and rejected the idea of an apology. On the contrary, he even behaved as though he had been the victor, and he demanded ample compensation from the Emperor for his losses through the war. At an assembly of the major princes at Regensburg in 1623 the Emperor put the transfer of his electoral dignity to Maximilian on the agenda. After a long dispute a compromise was reached which had the support of at least one of the Protestants, the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. Maximilian was to receive the title of Elector for his life-time. If the Count Palatine should submit, he was to be pardoned, and the claims of his children were to be considered.

But Frederick did not think of submitting, despite temporary diplomatic gestures. From his residence in the Hague, and with the support of Dutch, English, and later also French subsidies, he endeavoured ceaselessly to bring together a big coalition for the total destruction of the Emperor. He hoped to win for it England, France, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, Venice, Hungary, Turkey, the Bohemian and Austrian Protestants and others. The Sultan was to be offered the overlordship over Bohemia and Hungary, which he should exercise through Protestant vassals. Frederick's aims were characteristically expressed in a letter to Prince Bethlen, advising him: 'Not to let the war die down, but entirely to devastate Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, annihilate Moravia, and ruin and burn to ashes Silesia and the neighbourhood'. The Emperor had, indeed, many open and secret enemies who might well join hands. With Pope Urban VIII, a decided enemy of the Habsburgs came to the papal throne. In England the King's striving for peaceful relations with the Habsburg powers was most unpopular with the Puritans, and this was one of the main roots from which the great conflict between King and Parliament developed. Shortly before his death James I was compelled to yield to public opinion; he was succeeded by Charles I. But the most important event for Germany was Cardinal Richelieu's rise to power in France (1624). Further, since 1621, Spain and the Netherlands had been at war again. The policy of Spain led to conflicts with England and France, and the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs was again to be drawn into the troubles of their Spanish branch. In the East Prince Bethlen and the Turks were on the warpath; in the north Denmark and Sweden were a menace, as was Venice in the south.

The attack on the Emperor was opened by Denmark, with the support of Holland, England and France, and some German

princes. The Catholic League under Maximilian of Bavaria's leadership took up the challenge, but urgently demanded that the Emperor should also raise an army. He had the luck to find in Albrecht of Waldstein, mostly called Wallenstein, a general willing to raise troops for him. He came from an old Czech family of Protestant religion, but had early become a Catholic and joined the side of the Emperor. His lack of any scruples had gained him an immense fortune, and he was not only a great general, but also a very able statesman, and unequalled as organiser and administrator. Soon he could name himself Duke of Friedland, but he aimed far higher. His name exercised a magic spell on officers and soldiers, who flocked to his banners knowing that they would be very well paid, and would have opportunities for making a great career. While other condottieri allowed their troops to live on the spoils of war, and more or less tolerated the worst exactions and outrages against the helpless people, Wallenstein organised an efficient system of supplying the army from stores, partly accumulated on his own estates; and he put the financial burden on the shoulders of the rulers and magistrates in the territories in which he operated.

Wallenstein had received extraordinary powers from the Emperor. The hopes set on him soon seemed to come true: he not only knew how to win battles but also appeared to have a long range vision of enhancing and consolidating the Emperor's power, at the expense of the princes. Detailed plans were naturally never revealed, nor did the generalissimo confess what position his scheming mind had envisaged for himself. But casual remarks, dropped by him or his confidants, aroused the greatest distrust in the princes. It was further obvious that Wallenstein had no religious prejudice, for he encouraged the co-operation of men of all creeds, for the over-riding aim of creating a strong central power. He also wanted to free the Emperor from foreign commitments, especially the Spanish connection, which forced him to squander forces for aims alien to the Empire, and to involve it in dangerous tension with France. Wallenstein saw the tasks of Imperial policy as lying not in the West and the South but in the North and the East. In particular, he wanted to build up a strong power in North Germany along the Baltic. To this purpose the general induced the Emperor to confiscate the land of the two Dukes of Meklenburg, who had joined the enemies, and to confer it upon himself; and it was probable that he was looking for an opportunity to swallow also other territories. He planned to establish an Imperial navy in the Baltic and the

North Sea, of which he was to be the admiral. This plan aroused the fierce jealousy of Sweden, Denmark, and other seafaring powers. The port of Stralsund would have been a good base, and Wallenstein made the attempt to get hold of it, but this operation failed.

Everywhere else, however, the cause of the Emperor was victorious; Tilly, the general of the League, had defeated King Christian of Denmark, and in 1629 peace was concluded with him. The Emperor's power in Germany seemed to reach an unprecedented peak. But Ferdinand did not understand how to maintain and consolidate this; against Wallenstein's advice the military forces were split by unnecessary and dangerous expeditions abroad, and the Emperor committed the fatal mistake of issuing the Edict of Restitution. It decreed that the Protestant princes were to return the vast possessions of the Catholic Church, which they had unlawfully appropriated in the seventy-seven years since 1552. They comprised two arch-bishoprics, twelve bishoprics, and over five hundred abbeys, churches and estates. The inhabitants of these regions had meanwhile become Protestants. But the Edict wanted to give the lawful owners the right to re-convert them to Catholicism, or to force them to emigrate. The Calvinists were excluded from the Religious Peace. Though the Edict corresponded to the letter of the law, it was a most impolitic act, bound to arouse the greatest apprehensions and resistance of the Protestants. But it also unleashed rivalries among the Catholic princes about the territories to be restored, and caused a deepening antagonism between them and the Emperor. Now, when no open enemy was left—was it still necessary to keep the large Imperial army under Wallenstein, whose financial exactions were a terrible burden both on the Protestants and the Catholics? Was not the inference justifiable that it was not so much meant as a weapon against enemies but as a means of subjecting the princes to the absolute power of the Emperor? Had the Imperial troops the right to enter the States of the princes without their consent and there to exact contributions? Ferdinand certainly did not contemplate overthrowing the constitution; but might he not, step by step, be led by Wallenstein and others to an arrogation of powers incompatible with the historic foundations of Germany? Wallenstein, moreover, had made himself suspect and odious to many princes by his harsh and domineering behaviour. For many reasons, therefore, relations between the Emperor and the princes worsened. Maximilian of Bavaria had just derived great profit from the increase of the Imperial power:

his new electoral dignity had been declared hereditary, and he had received a large part of the Palatinate bordering on Bavaria. Yet he negotiated an alliance with France, now hostile to the Emperor, and concluded it two years later. The opposition to the Emperor became so strong that he could not secure the consent of the princes to the election of his son as his successor. Still less could he induce them to support Spain against the Netherlands and France. The pressure of the princes, especially of Maximilian, became so strong that the Emperor eventually had to sacrifice Wallenstein, who had to resign. Shortly before, King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden had landed in Pomerania, in secret alliance with France. Wallenstein's fall was largely a triumph of French diplomacy, backed by the Pope. The immediate cause of France's enmity to the Emperor was his attitude in the question of the succession in Mantua. But even apart from this conflict Richelieu resumed the old French policy of active opposition to the power of the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs, which was the main hindrance to French supremacy in Europe.

Gustavus Adolphus surpassed all the other kings of his time as a successful ruler, a brilliant general and an enlightened and strong personality. After long struggles with Denmark, Poland and Russia his small country ascended under his rule to the rank of a great power. His aim was the building up of a Baltic Empire including not only the Swedish but also the German and other shores of the Baltic sea. Moreover, he was also an ardent Protestant of the Lutheran confession. His army had a national character: it consisted mostly of Swedish peasants, not of hired soldiers from the scum of the earth. The Protestant princes of Germany, however, were, with few exceptions, very far from welcoming him as their saviour. The Lutheran ministers were praying for him, news-sheets were published hailing his appearance, and in certain areas Protestant opinion was on his side. But all the greater princes recognised the terrible dangers involved in his invasion, and would have much preferred to remain neutral in his coming struggle with the Emperor. Many thought of a Third Force which might defend Protestantism, peace, and German integrity against both sides. The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg called an assembly in which the great majority of the Protestant princes demanded the revocation of the Edict of Restitution, and declared for peace and the maintenance of their rights. But Ferdinand still refused to withdraw his unfortunate edict. Nevertheless, the princes were unwilling to side with the Swedish King, and he had to resort to force and threats to win them over. In the

south, Maximilian made efforts to organise a Catholic group independent both of the Emperor and of the Swedish King, but with the backing of France. An event which stirred up Protestant feelings to the utmost was the fall of the town of Magdeburg, a Protestant stronghold, which was stormed by Tilly's troops. The town was sacked and burned down. But it is controversial who ordered the burning; prominent historians ascribe the responsibility to the Swedish defender Falkenberg. It was certainly not in Tilly's interest. In 1631 Tilly was defeated by the Swedish King at Breitenfeld, and a year later was killed. Gustavus Adolphus did not trust his Protestant allies, and consequently did not march on Vienna, but turned westwards towards the rich South German and Rhenish bishoprics. The Protestants there received him with jubilation. The King drove out the bishops and distributed their lands among his marshals. Now more and more German princes joined him, and he became popular in wide sections of the Protestants, especially among the burghers. Later he devastated Bavaria, and also spoke of his aims. He promised the Protestants a position resembling a State within the State under an elected president and with a strong army. He obviously thought of becoming their protector and perhaps also of obtaining the German crown.

Emperor Ferdinand in his terrible plight saw no other way of salvation than recalling Wallenstein. After his dismissal he had retired to his Duchy of Friedland, full of bitterness against those who had brought about his fall and against the Emperor. He was also in contact with his enemies, who would have liked to win him. Now, the Emperor implored him to come to his rescue, and made him Commander in Chief with extraordinary powers. His triumphant return aroused great jealousy in influential circles. Wallenstein created a new army, partly financed by himself, which appeared to be more his army than that of the Emperor. He then followed a cautious strategy and had several successes. In 1632 Gustavus Adolphus attacked him at Lutzen. No side achieved victory, but the King fell in the battle. The war had now lasted fourteen years and the wish for peace was general. But neither Sweden nor France could be expected to renounce their ambitions. Wallenstein was gravely ill and showed great reserve in military operations, which aroused suspicion. He harboured bold aims for his own aggrandisement, but also seriously desired to bring the war to an end. For this purpose he wanted first to win the German princes on the Swedish side for his plans. Germany was to be liberated from the foreign invaders, but

also from the obligation to fight for interests of Spain or the Pope. The relations between Catholics and Protestants were to be based on the principle of equality. If the Emperor for dynastic reasons or under the influence of the Jesuits would reject reasonable terms, he might have to be compelled by force of arms. These ideas led Wallenstein to negotiations with the Emperor's enemies casting doubts on his loyalty to the latter. Wallenstein's adversaries denounced him to the Emperor as a traitor, greatly exaggerating the evidence available. Ferdinand entrusted the investigation of this charge to a counsel of impartial statesmen, who found Wallenstein guilty. Thereupon the Emperor deposed and proscribed him, ordering he should be arrested and, if this was not possible, be killed. When Wallenstein heard what was going on, he actually intended to ally himself with the Emperor's enemies and to take up arms against him. But officers who had remained loyal to the Emperor murdered Wallenstein and his principal supporters. They were richly rewarded by the Emperor, though he had not wished that the general should be killed, except in case of extreme necessity.

The assassination aroused a storm of public opinion agitating all classes and parties. A spate of pamphlets appeared discussing the event from all standpoints. The Protestants were particularly embittered, but also others were critical, and defenders, too, were not lacking. The question, if and how far Wallenstein was guilty of treason, has remained controversial up to our time. Srbik has given a masterly analysis of this very complicated problem, and a survey of the various trends of opinion expressed in the pamphlets. One of the lessons of this tragedy, however, was that the nascent Habsburg Empire, surrounded by aggressive powers, could no longer rely on the old system of raising an army in case of need only, employing for this purpose a condottiere, who might be faced with the temptation to regard the army as an instrument for his own plans. A standing army owing obedience exclusively and directly to the government had become an absolute necessity.

The Swedish army suffered a decisive defeat at Noerdlingen. This battle was not only a great victory for the Imperial and Spanish troops, but decided also the rivalry between Sweden and France for the preponderant influence in Germany. Richelieu henceforward superseded the leading Swedish statesman Oxenstjerna as the protector of 'German liberty'. The French now openly entered the war against Spain and the Emperor. Their

aim was the acquisition of Lorraine and the control of Alsace. They also won the services of Bernhard of Weimar, a German prince, who hitherto had been the most able German leader in the Swedish army, and who fought mainly to secure Alsace for himself.

In spite of his victory, the Emperor was willing to make peace with the princes still in alliance with the foreign enemies. Long negotiations led to the Peace of Prague (1635), concluded with Saxony, but subsequently joined by almost all the other princes and towns. The Edict was abandoned in a face-saving form, namely its suspension for forty years, pending which time a definite settlement was to be agreed upon. The ownership of the disputed ecclesiastical lands was to be decided according to the status quo of 1627. A wide amnesty and restoration of confiscated estates was granted, except for the Count Palatine, the Bohemian rebels and certain others. Saxony was to receive Lusatia and Magdeburg. No leagues or unions were to be formed by princes, and they were to have no armies except fortress garrisons to defend their lands. Of the army of the Empire one half was to be under the command of the Emperor, while the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria were to command a quarter each. In the Supreme Court Catholics and Protestants were to have an equal share. The princes were to help the Emperor against France and Sweden.

Both Sweden and France made desperate attempts to frustrate the acceptance of the peace by the princes, but in vain. A significant fact was that the Swedish army, which was now predominantly composed of German mercenaries, protested against any peace without ample compensation for themselves. One of the greatest difficulties was, indeed, the fact that the professional soldiers had obtained a vested interest in the war, which was to them a source of great profit. Swedish generals, such as Baner, Wrangel and Koenigsmarck, made enormous fortunes out of the war. But it was not much different in other armies: everywhere it was not only the generals and colonels who had an interest in the continuance of the war, but even the common soldiers. Together with their wives, girls, children and servants, who followed them on the march, they formed a very large class, who subjected the civilians to the worst extortions and indescribable atrocities, and would then revel and riot with the proceeds of their exactions. A man like Johann Werth, who could neither read nor write, and who became one of the most famous generals of cavalry, was ennobled, and by a bold movement,

almost captured Paris. Large numbers of people completely ruined by the war became soldiers to earn a living.

The Swedes still had partisans among the Germans. In the government of Brandenburg, for example, some of the counselors were on the Swedish side, and did their best to prevent the Elector from deserting Sweden. But the Diet of Brandenburg unanimously begged him to make peace, and this, no doubt, was the most ardent longing of the widest circles of the German people, without difference of religion or of rank. Yet the fighting was still to go on for thirteen years, with frequent changes of fortune, and in large parts of Germany it tended to destroy every trace of civilisation. In this phase its history presents merely a dreary succession of campaigns and battles, which decided nothing and only perpetuated the horrors. The princes had now, with very few exceptions, become loyal to the Emperor again, but the aim of the Peace of Prague, to combine their forces in order to get rid of the foreign invaders and to end the war, was not achieved for long. The course of the war forced ever more princes to make separate treaties with the Swedes and the French, in order to buy neutrality. After the death of Bernhard of Weimar, Richelieu managed to take over not only his army but also his conquests in Alsace. Richelieu died in 1642 but his policy was continued by Mazarin. Of the greatest importance was the fact that since 1639 the power of Spain began to break down, owing to causes deeply rooted in her tradition. The Emperor thereby lost his most important ally, and at the same time the Swedes made a fresh vigorous assault on the Emperor's own lands, and threatened Vienna; while the Hungarians under Prince Rakoczi rose in arms against him.

In the meantime Ferdinand II had died (1637). His personality showed a great contrast between his political and his personal faculties. He was exceedingly kind-hearted, had no great ambitions and was of blameless morality. His one aim in life was to bring his peoples back to the Catholic faith. Yet he was faced with the hostile policy of Pope Urban VIII who, like so many Popes, put his political interests above those of the Church. Ferdinand was convinced that his statesmen were much more competent than he himself to decide on politics, and he always, without a single exception, gave his consent to the proposals voted by the majority of his privy counsellors, even if he disagreed with them. Questions touching religion and conscience, moreover, were submitted to an assembly of Catholic theologians; and also two Jesuits, his confessor, Lamormaini, a

peasant's son, and the Court Preacher Weingartner exercised great influence upon him. The worst result of the Emperor's good-heartedness and ignorance of administration was his financial recklessness. He was incapable of saying 'No' to his entourage or to those who served him. This weakness was cleverly and selfishly exploited by men who had his favour. The terrible spoliation of the Bohemian rebels was mainly their work. The Emperor gave away enormous wealth to his friends, ministers, generals and the Church. The State finances were, therefore, always in disorder; often the soldiers could not be paid in time, and helped themselves by robbing the people.

The Emperor was succeeded by his son Ferdinand III. He had many excellent faculties, spoke seven languages, showed great interest and knowledge in science and art, and was a man of character and integrity. Though a devoted Catholic, he deprived the Jesuits of political influence. In political questions he also regularly confirmed the decisions of his Council of Ministers, a principle recommended by his confessor. Ferdinand III made great efforts to reduce the excessive expenses for the court. For some time he succeeded, but later the expenses rose again. In 1641 he ordered the government accountancy to elaborate a detailed summary of all expenses for the war from 1618 to 1640. The expenses of the Austrian countries were 71,452,753 Gulden, and adding papal and Spanish subsidies, loans, income from contributions and confiscations, etc., the outlay for the war amounted to 110 million Gulden.

During the war public opinion was expressed in many thousands of publications, especially political pamphlets, issued by representatives of all parties. The militant faction of the Protestants was particularly prolific in propaganda writings. It comprised many intellectuals hard hit by the war, such as Bohemian and other exiles, professors, preachers, schoolmasters and also agents of German and foreign governments hostile to the Habsburgs. The most distinguished writer of this school was Ludwig Camerarius, a leading Palatine counsellor. They raised the battle-cry: Up against the threatening world domination of Spain and the Jesuits! The true faith and German liberty in danger! In reality, neither Spain, nor Austria, were in a state to harbour such ambitions. The defenders of the Emperor and the old Church usually stressed that the real motive of their enemies was not at all care for religion, but the striving for power and profit, subjugation and spoliation or for setting up a republican regime. The Lutherans loyal to the Emperor, especially Saxony, con-

curred with these views, but the warlike Protestants ascribed this attitude to the influence of the Saxon Court Preacher Hoë von Hoëneck, a born Austrian, whom they accused of being bribed by Spanish gold. Among the literary enemies of the Protestants the most intransigent was Kaspar Schoppe, called Scioppius, who was born as a Protestant, but later became a Catholic. He wrote many learned books and still more polemical pamphlets. In Italy he met Thomas Campanella, a Dominican, who in a book had represented Spain as God's tool to bring about the world domination of the Pope, and a new Golden Age of peace. Scioppius had similar opinions.

The Jesuits were particularly hated by the Protestant pamphleteers. Many of them held that the Emperor was good-natured but had no energy, and was misled by the Jesuits. The Order was during the war at the peak of its power, its members were confessors and advisers of many Catholic princes, it dominated education, possessed vast wealth, and was engaged in international commerce and banking on the largest scale. But many factors were already undermining its position. The strict discipline and self-sacrificing devotion prescribed by Loyola slackened and often gave way to egoism. The Order was bitterly criticised by rivals within the Church. Scioppius, too, became an enemy of the Jesuits.

In 1628 the imperial government, Spain and Wallenstein for some time followed the policy to set up the Emperor's domination over the Baltic, to found a sea power, and to revive the Hanse League. This project aroused Sweden and the Netherlands, and many pamphlets were published combatting it. The Emperor then seemed to win the war and there were tendencies to strengthen his power. The Protestant pamphleteers denounced them as a striving to establish monarchical absolutism and world domination. They published among many other writings an alleged secret memorandum of the Emperor's confessor, the Jesuit Lamormaini (whom they called Laemmermann), which aroused enormous sensation. Pamphlets sought also to bring about a conflict between the Emperor and the princes. Among them was an alleged confidential memorandum of Field-Marshal Count Aldringer, which was particularly effective. Several pamphlets stated that the Emperor planned to replace the old nobility by a new one, devoted to him, and even to ally himself with the common man against the princes.

The triumphs of Gustavus Adolphus aroused great hopes among the enemies of the Emperor. The King was celebrated as the roaring lion from the North who would tear up the nets of

the Jesuits. But there were also serious discussions of constitutional reforms intended to deprive the Emperor of any power, and to make Germany an aristocratic republic. After the death of the Swedish King the imperial diplomacy negotiated terms for a peace between the Emperor and the Protestant princes (1635). This aroused again great polemics. Hitzigrath has in a book analysed sixty-four pamphlets dealing with this subject. Several important Protestant princes consulted their Court Preachers and the theological faculties of their universities whether the peace was compatible with their religious duties. They all answered in the affirmative. But the Calvinist preachers, backed by Sweden and France, violently opposed the conclusion of peace. The Pope, too, was against it declaring the Emperor had made too great concessions to the heretics. Ferdinand II replied to the Pope justifying his policy and this correspondence was published in a pamphlet.

Even many German Protestants who had a great admiration for Gustavus Adolphus were now against any further Swedish intervention in German affairs. Several pamphlets described the enormous exactions and devastations committed by the Swedish army in Germany. The country had been bled white by them, Sweden had thereby become a rich country, and German trade had been burdened by her with crushing tolls. The Swedes were called 'the Spaniards of the North.'

Many pamphlets were mainly designed for readers specially interested in politics. But there was also a kind of publication for the masses, namely broadsheets with satirical cartoons explained in rhymed verses, or in prose. Many of them have been compiled in books by Weller, and by Opel and Cohn. Some are full of wit and common sense, and they give us a vivid picture of how the common man looked at the war. If they had not appealed to him the publishers would not have brought them out, though a part was spread for propaganda purposes. In the first years of the war already (1621) appeared a poem denouncing 'the three proud clergymen'—actually they are called 'Pfaffen' which means clergymen in a contemptible sense. The persons meant were the Jesuit Lamormaini, the Emperor's confessor, the Saxon Court Preacher Hoë von Hoëneck, a prominent Lutheran, and the Palatine Court Preacher Scultetus, a Calvinist. Their influence on politics is criticised in a very unfavourable way, and the governments are warned against clerical intrigues since the Pfaffen are all thirsting for blood. Another broadsheet gives a talk between Court Preacher Scultetus and the Court Fool of

Frederick of the Palatinate, in which the fool appears as the wiser one. Several Protestant broadsheets blame Scultetus for having destroyed the crucifixes etc., in the Prague cathedral arousing thereby the Bohemians against their King.

In 1621 a pamphlet came out under the title *Old Truth*. It contained aphorisms, and had several editions. Who wrote it, is controversial. The author opposes the Lutherans standing for neutrality on the ground that those wishing to remain neutral will become victims of both belligerent parties. But he obviously can neither agree with the militant Calvinists. The world seems to him full of illusion and fraud which it had learned from the clergy. Every clergyman, if not curbed, becomes filled with pride, and wishes to be the Pope in his circle. Both the Lutherans and the Calvinists show nothing but inordinate ambition, pride, self-conceit and discord. Catholicism is certainly the best religion—namely for little children and old women. The Jesuits should be expelled—but could we only expel also the devil lurking everywhere! The author stands for liberty. No sword is sharper, he says, than that fighting for liberty. But his liberal soul seems to harbour inhibitions against brutal violence, and he remarks that ‘the over-civilised would need a dose of barbarism’. All ranks and classes further are actuated by narrow selfishness. The greatest lords have the greatest faults, but nothing exceeds the pride of the peasant on his dunghheap, and every village mayor is a little tyrant. The pamphlet makes many further shrewd observations.

It was natural that the war awakened in wider circles national feelings, the memory of the great German achievements in the past, deep grief at the terrible degradation of the empire, and the longing for the revival of its independence, strength and prestige. Many pamphlets and other publications speak of the “beloved fatherland of the German nation”, or use similar words to express national sentiment. The Peace of Prague had shown that also most princes had at last realised the necessity of strengthening the central power. But the power of the foreign enemies frustrated all attempts to achieve this aim. Even if the luck of war had turned in favour of the Imperial cause, however, the internal disintegration, the deep cleavages between dynasties, religions and classes would have hardly permitted the creation of a sufficient measure of national unity and solidarity. Since in politics national re-generation was hopeless, there was a strong movement among scholars and writers to achieve it at least in the cultural field. The German language and civilization were to be purified from foreign

elements disfiguring them and a German poetry was to be created equal to that of other nations. To this end a number of literary societies were founded which were joined by numerous princes and writers. The history of these aspirations contributes much to the knowledge of the public mind.

In 1640 a book appeared on the Reason of State in the German Empire, under the pen name Hippolithus a Lapide. Though it belonged to the war literature surveyed here, we shall deal with it later since it made a momentous contribution to thought on the reform of the constitution.

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THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA AND THE AFTERMATH OF THE WAR

AFTER many years of negotiations the war came to an end in 1648. Peace was made with Sweden in Osnabrueck, and with France in Muenster. Both towns were situated in Westphalia, and it has become usual to speak of the Peace of Westphalia. For our subject a survey of the most important points will suffice. The United Netherlands (Holland) had already made a separate peace with Spain, and secured full independence. This completed their secession from the Empire. The Southern Netherlands (Belgium) remained under the Spanish Crown, and therefore continued to be an Estate of the Empire. A clause which later caused much trouble was the closure of the mouth of the Scheldt by the Dutch in order to ruin Antwerp and Belgian trade. France refused to make peace with Spain and Lorraine though these States were in regard to some of their territories Estates of the Empire. Switzerland received the recognition of her full independence. Sweden obtained large territories on the Baltic and North Sea as fiefs of the Empire which gave her a seat in the Reichstag. She controlled thereby the mouths of the Weser, Elbe and Oder, and in addition the ports belonging to Brandenburg and Mecklenburg. A great part of the total Swedish revenues were in consequence raised by tolls on German trade. The Swedish army further received five million Thalers which were distributed among the officers and men. France secured the definite cession of three towns in Lorraine and remained in possession of the rest of Lorraine without a cession, because its duke was excluded from the peace, further she received the Austrian lands and rights in Alsace, and strategical points on the right bank of the Rhine, which gave her a good vantage-ground for future aggression.

The towns and other parts of Alsace were, however, not to lose their membership in the Empire. Their rulers remained Estates, and might sit and vote in the Reichstag. The clauses regarding Alsace were ambiguously worded by France with a view to further aggrandisement. At first France was inclined to receive these parts as fiefs, and thereby to obtain a footing in the Reichstag, but the Emperor refused fearing she would thereby become still more dangerous. The Reichstag before and after the peace comprised quite a number of rulers whose territories were wholly or partly outside Germany.

France and Sweden maintained that they had not waged war with the Empire, but with the House of Habsburg and its supporters. This standpoint gave them the opportunity of exercising great influence in settling internal questions, even fundamental constitutional issues, and thereby to establish close connections with German princes whose claims they favoured. Many princes and nobles received an amnesty, and their lost possessions were returned according to the status of 1618. Hesse-Cassel had lost no territory but as its rulers had been particularly active in supporting Sweden and France these two powers secured her a substantial 'indemnity'. The Palsgrave definitely lost the Upper-Palatinate and his old electoral dignity to Bavaria, but was partly compensated by a newly created electoral dignity. It may be mentioned here that a scion of the Palatine house who had married Gustavus Adolphus' sister was in the last phase of the war generalissimo of the Swedish army, and in 1654 became King of Sweden. The territories ceded to Sweden had to be taken from Brandenburg, Mecklenburg and Brunswick who were compensated by ecclesiastical principalities. The other territories and rights of the Catholic Church were restored according to the status of first of January 1624.

The Religious Peace of 1555 was confirmed, but toleration was enlarged, especially by the distinct inclusion of the Calvinists, whose status had previously been controversial. The Protestants and Catholics were to possess religious freedom in a territory according to the status quo in 1624, and those not covered by this rule received a certain amount of protection. But the Emperor was not bound to tolerate Protestants in his dominions, except to a certain extent in Silesia. Of the Free Towns thirty-three were declared to be Protestant, thirteen Catholic, and five mixed. The Protestants and Catholics were to have the same number of members in the judicial staff of the High Courts and in every session of them, in the Councils and magistrates of mixed

towns, etc. This principle of parity between the religions, was also applied to the Reichstag, though in a modified form. Other denominations than Lutherans, Calvinists and Catholics were not recognised by the Empire. But territorial rulers sometimes gave them asylum.

The Estates were declared sovereign, except in regard to certain rights reserved to the Emperor. They were free to conclude treaties among themselves and with foreign powers, and to wage war and conclude peace. But they were not to make pacts directed against the Emperor and the Empire, or against Public Peace. This latter clause excluded wars between Estates of the Empire. In regard to the rights of the Reichstag France and Sweden demanded that it should have full powers in legislation, taxation and administration, in making war and peace, concluding treaties, and deciding about military matters and that all Estates should be free to vote as they liked. The Emperor made the attempt to introduce restrictions, but this failed. The Reichstag remained composed of three colleges, those of the Electors, the Princes and the Free Towns. In each college the majority decided, but a resolution of the Reichstag required the agreement of all three colleges. It became law by the consent of the Emperor. If the colleges could not agree, the Emperor mediated between them, and eventually might confirm the vote of their majority. It had been controversial whether the towns had a vote of the same weight as the Princes, but this was now answered in the affirmative. Decision by majority within a college was, however, excluded in all questions when Protestants and Catholics disagreed, and in questions of individual conscience. This applied not only to religious questions. Any question in which the two religions did not see eye to eye could only be settled by an amicable understanding. Each religious party could raise a veto against any proposition. The same rule was to be valid in judicial questions. If the Catholic and Protestant members of a High Court had in a legal case divided opinions the matter was to be put before the Reichstag. Many Protestants, especially Free Towns, further held that questions of taxation were also matters of the individual conscience, and therefore not subject to decision by majority. This question was never definitely settled.

The peace treaties dealt further with a great many other questions which, however, need not be discussed here. Lastly it was declared that the treaties were to be a fundamental, permanent law of the Empire, and that all the parties between which they were concluded, together or singly, were guarantors and bound

to defend them even by force of arms. France and Sweden thereby received the right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Empire. But also every German prince might use the defence of the treaties as a pretext for pursuing his egoistic aims to the detriment of the Empire. Many clauses could be twisted to suit this purpose. For France and Sweden the main purpose was to encourage internal disunity and thereby to make the Empire as a whole as weak and vulnerable as possible. The Peace Treaty, therefore, gave great powers to all the disintegrating forces of particularism, and reduced the factors making for unity. Germany was to become a loose federation of almost independent States.

It took many years till the stipulations of the treaties were carried out and the foreign armies withdrew from Germany, or were dissolved. In the meantime, they continued to be a heavy burden for the people. Nevertheless, the peace was universally welcomed with jubilation, except by the military of all the States concerned. The German people had gone through sufferings unprecedented in history. According to the careful investigation of Guenther Franz in the average 40% of the rural population were wiped out, and in the towns a third. But there were countries where 60% of the agricultural population vanished, though there were also territories little affected by the war. Many towns were repeatedly besieged, f.i. Leipzig five times. The losses in population were mostly due to famine and plague following the ruthless requisitioning of supplies by the armies and the devastations by marauding soldiers. Many generals tried to prevent atrocities against civilians, but when the mercenaries did not receive their pay, as often happened, they got out of hand, and looted and ravaged the country committing unspeakable cruelties to extort the handing over of hidden money or other values. The long duration of the war had brought about an extreme brutalisation of the soldiery who were, moreover, to a great extent recruited from the scum of all nations. Besides the troops of the belligerent powers, there were countless robber gangs terrorizing and pillaging the country. Many of the people who had themselves been plundered and ruined, saw no other way than joining a band and looting others. The mere approach of an army induced thousands to take to flight, and there were many mass migrations to regions which seemed safer. Great damage was also done by the policy of depreciating the currency or clipping the coins in order to squeeze money out of the people. Such operations had already begun before the war, and then became a social evil of the greatest importance. It led to the impoverishment of large classes and the

enrichment of certain sections. Many rulers, or the financiers running their mint, constantly debased the coinage, and groups of traders specialized in clipping. Jews versed in money affairs played a great part in this business. Moreover, there was also much war-profiteering of other kinds. The pamphlets are full with denunciations of these practices. These doings contributed to the spreading of economic chaos paralyzing productivity. In the first line, of course, this was due to the losses and damages directly caused by the war. With its progress large parts of Germany became a waste. The peasants and labourers had been killed or had fled, the farmsteads had been burnt down, and the cattle driven away, the fields were covered with weeds and brush, and wolves were roaming about.

The war also greatly deteriorated social relations. The peasants surviving were overburdened with debts, and needed further credits to restore the productivity of their farms. They were therefore in a weak position towards their lords who could lay increased obligations on their shoulders, or deprive them of their land depressing them to labourers. Numerous farms were no longer cultivated. The former owner or tenant had disappeared; and very often there was no claimant able to prove his rights of succession. The lords could easily get hold of the land. In the war the noble officers had had high incomes and indulged in great luxury adopting the style of life of many French and Italian aristocrats with whom they were serving. After the war therefore they often increased the rents and services of their serfs or tenants in order to cover their much enlarged expenditure.

The towns, too, were mostly hard hit by the war, in particular by the necessity of sheltering masses of refugees, famine, the plague and other epidemics, and the extremely heavy financial exactions of all military commanders whom the course of the war brought near a town. Refusal to pay would have involved the risk of being taken by assault and sacked. The towns also suffered by the general disturbances of trade and the disruption of communications. On the other hand, the war stimulated production, trade and banking for military purposes, and certain commercial towns could thereby make great profits. For some territories the losses of life and working-power were to some extent made good by the immigration of refugees from regions devastated by the war, or from religious persecution abroad. After the war also many foreign soldiers settled down in Germany.

Besides the economic, social and moral damages the war caused a great cultural decline. Many universities and schools came to a

standstill. The enormous influx of soldiers of almost every language had the result that the German language was mixed with countless foreign words and became a hideous jargon. This aroused the national sentiment of many writers who advocated the elimination of such admixtures, and made efforts to refine the language and the literary style in order to be able to compete with foreign models.

The great war and the peace treaties had also a decisive influence on the further development of the public mind. The closer description of this evolution must be left to the next volume of this study. But we may here at least indicate the direction of the main trends. The most momentous experience of the war was the emergence of imperialism and militarism on an unprecedented scale. Hitherto the Spaniards had been the people where the military spirit was most developed, but now France and Sweden became foremost and surpassed the former masters in efficiency. The gun increasingly replaced the pike, the cavalry greatly increased in importance, new tactics were introduced, and the professional soldiers became vastly superior to men not properly trained and seasoned. Warfare became much more expensive than before. If the Emperors in spite of the greatest efforts and remarkable military achievements eventually were not able to win the war this was mainly due to their financial weakness. The resources of France were greater than the Austrian ones, and the French government was more centralised and less dependent on the Estates, than the regime of the Habsburgs, and could therefore more ruthlessly extort money from the people.

It was not merely the financial and military factors, however, which were to determine the future trend of politics. Richelieu and Mazarin developed also a political system which was soon to attain to its perfection under Louis XIV, and which was dominated by the striving for power and by the doctrine of Reason of State. This ideology was not new. Already Machiavelli had given its classical exposition. But the new French form was much refined, and showed in many fields a new technique. Military, diplomatic, political, financial, economic and cultural means were co-ordinated in order to increase the power, prestige and splendour of France represented by an all-powerful king.

After the great war, therefore, the idea of monarchical absolutism made also great progress in Germany and in other countries. The necessity of creating a strong central power, if Germany was to be liberated of the foreign aggressors had inspired the Peace of Prague, which most German princes had accepted. But it

was wrecked by Sweden and France. These powers, on the contrary, imposed a peace upon Germany making the princes sovereign, and enabled them to build up their absolute power and standing armies financed by French subventions.

The political and cultural hegemony of France had further the result that the French language became dominant in most courts and high society. The German upper classes were increasingly separated from the people by their language and their whole way of living. The social cleavage between the upper and the lower classes was in France particularly great, though a large proportion of the nobility had risen from bourgeois origin through royal service to high rank and great riches. Most German nobles were not wealthy. The increasing imitation of French models, aggravated also the estrangement between the classes in Germany.

Besides the model of France it was that of the Dutch Republic which exercised great influence on the rulers faced after the war with the task of reconstruction. Dutch mercantile prosperity, toleration and cultural achievements were widely admired and many princes, especially the Calvinist ones, followed Holland's model. Their striving for absolute power was thereby mixed with elements of enlightenment. Of all the results of the great war the most beneficial was the progress towards religious toleration. The clauses of the Peace Treaties concerning these questions were not fully satisfactory. In certain territories intolerance was still able to exercise a baneful influence on politics and the life of the people. Yet, on the whole the Westphalian Peace marked in this respect a momentous progress, which was soon still enhanced by a change in the spirit of the age. The war had widely discredited religious fanaticism and narrow-mindedness, and had awakened aversion to obsolete feudal privileges. After the war a strong striving arose for reforms of the law based on the law of nature, or the natural sense of justice. The Dutch statesman Hugo Grotius had developed rules for an international reign of law. In religion orthodoxy gave way to pietism which set the love of our neighbour above arid dogmatic subtleties. Philosophical thought contributed to the rise of a political mentality actuated by the wish for the domination of reason and for improving the lot of the people. Though the age of monarchical absolutism showed many rulers indulging in unjustifiable war and insane luxury there were also many rulers combining it with benevolent plans to make their subjects happy. The great forerunners of liberalism regarded enlightened princes as the vanguard of progress, not the Estates which were bulwarks of feudal privileges. The experience of the

Thirty Years War in many ways prepared the public mind for this transformation.

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